An Introduction to Social Anthropology

एन्थ्रो पालोजी

D. N. MAJUMDAR

AND

T. N. MADAN

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

First Edition : February 1956
Reprinted : June 1957
Copyright Reserved

PRINTED BY G. G. PATHARE AT THE POPULAR PRESS (BOM.) PRIVATE LTD. BOMBAY,
AND PUBLISHED BY P. S. JAYASINGHE. ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE BOMBAY 1

PREFACE

ANTHROPOLOGY, it seems, is fast coming to occupy its due place of importance in India, and this has created difficulties where none were experienced previously, at least not keenly. Among these difficulties, one of the foremost is the absence of a suitable introductory book which would give the beginner, student and enthusiastic general reader a rounded account of the subject, in, as far as possible, familiar and non-technical language, illustrated by examples drawn mostly from Indian tribes, and occasionally from elsewhere. Hence this book. No claims to original contributions are made, though we have drawn our materials from original sources including our own. Every attempt has been made to avoid giving disproportionate weightage to the views of any particular school of thought.

It is as well that we introduce the contents of the book to the reader rather than leave it to him to find out what he will read and why.

Anthropology is said to be the science of 'man in his totality'. How do anthropologists study man as such? Before we answer that question it becomes imperative that we explain how anthropology is different from physical sciences, like biology; social sciences, like economics, political science, and sociology; humanities, like history and philosophy; and literature, all of which study man.

Anthropology shares some features with all the types of studies referred to above. In the study of man anthropologists, like biologists, study human morphology and in the study of human behaviour they use concepts (i.e., abstract ideas or general notions) like 'function' and 'structure' borrowing the same from physical sciences. With social sciences anthropology shares an interest in the study of the social behaviour of man (i.e., the behaviour of man as a person, a member of society) in its institutionalized (i.e., socially sanctioned) forms. It is not individual, but enduring, repetitive and socially significant behaviour of persons that forms the subject matter of anthropology. And along with the philosopher and the like, the anthropologist tries to study the nature of human nature and the nature of human culture. ('Culture' stands for the sum total of human behaviour, verbal and non-verbal, and its products, material and non-material.)

What, however, distinguishes anthropology from the other sciences is that,

(*i*) Unlike the physical and social sciences and philosophy, anthropology has no fixed boundaries, nor any exclusive interests, because it does not study some particular aspect of man or human activity (like, say his morphology as biology does, or his economic activity as economics does, or his speculations as philosophy does) but man and his social activities in their totality. The approach of anthropology to the study of man is holistic; it studies man, society and culture as a dynamic inter-acting whole.

(*ii*) Its method of approach is microcosmic and inductive. By the microcosmic method is meant the attempt to study the smaller unit of a class, or category, to throw light on the bigger unit. Anthropologists study the pre-literate, pre-urban primitive or rural societies in order to understand human society. So, it is the understanding about the smaller unit which leads to the understanding of the more complex bigger unit. And the knowledge and understanding about the smaller unit (pre-literate, pre-urban societies in the present case) are gained inductively. That is, facts are collected, classified, and compared to yield generalizations; they are not fitted into a preconceived set of notions.

(*iii*) As should be already clear, anthropology is different from the other sciences, physical and social, and from philosophy, in so far as its investigations are carried out directly (not on the basis of documentary and allied evidence) in pre-literate societies only.

We may now answer the question, 'How exactly does anthropology study man in all his aspects?'

Anthropology being committed to the scientific inductive method has to base itself on perceived facts. Man is manifest in two ways: firstly we see him as a 'functioning structure', i.e., as an arrangement of bones, muscles and vital organs.

How did man acquire this present bodily form? How is he related to higher mammals? How does one group of men differ from another in bodily form? How do the bodily forms and mental capacities of parents affect children? and so on: these are the problems studied by physical anthropology.

Secondly, man is manifest through his behaviour, verbal and non-verbal. This behaviour is either perceptible by itself and by its results or by its results alone.

The institutionalized behaviour of man falls into four categories. They are:

(*i*) Man is subject to bio-psychic needs which have to be satisfied, needs like the satisfaction of hunger and sexual desire, the need for emotional response and so on. These needs constitute human nature and are deterministic, i.e., if not satisfied they result in the extinction of the body, or in its cessation as a normally functioning entity. Consequently man must effect an adjustment with his own nature. This he does through exploiting nature—wresting food, clothing and shelter from it. The sum total of such activities constitutes the economic organization of a group. It is the man-to-nature adjustment for man's ultimate adjustment with his own nature.

(*ii*) The limited nature of man's physical endowments has been already referred to: in order that he may engage in effective relations with nature he must organize group effort. Group effort pre-supposes mutual understanding and response. It has to be based on an apprehension of common aims and methods and the ability to communicate with each other. Man has invented various devices to establish groups. Language and education are the pre-requisites which lead to the emergence of social life. The family, marriage and such other social institutions provide the medium in which and through which social life exists. And political institutions supply the controlling factors which hold social life at the useful level of inter-action.

The sum total of all these activities, which have for their purpose the establishment of groups, is social organization.

It is the man-to-man adjustment, for the sake of adjusting with human nature through (*a*) supplying the satisfaction of needs like the desire for sex gratification and emotional response, and (*b*) making possible the effective exploitation of nature.

(*iii*) The extent of the knowledge about the immediate world or even human life being limited in all pre-literate societies, pre-literate man has always, even since the beginning of his career as *Homo sapiens,* man the wise (*sic!*), felt the unseen presence of super-natural powers which could explain the sun, the moon, and the stars, thunder and earthquake, disease and death, fire and floods, childbirth, flowering of plants, and the bearing of fruits by trees. The vigour and ruthlessness of this/these unseen supernatural power/powers as also its/their benevolence struck the mind of man, and he sought to establish fruitful relations with it/them. He came to have beliefs about it/them, and evolved special modes of behaviour, called rituals, towards it/them. The sum total of such mythical beliefs and rituals constitutes the magico-religious organization of a people.

(*iv*) Man is not impelled to act only by his bio-psychic drives and his need to organize in groups to establish fruitful relations with nature and by his apprehension of supernatural powers, but also sometimes by cravings to produce things of art and give expression to commonly or individually cherished notions of beauty. Such activities in a society are the aesthetic activities of its members. Not only those who create art but also those who appreciate and accept or reject art products partake in the aesthetic activities of a society. Aesthetic activity is the human attempt at adjustment to what may be called cravings of the human mind for Beauty.

Such are the main types of institutional behaviour found in a human society; and these four types of behaviour, as reported from contemporary pre-literate and pre-urban societies, are studied by social-cultural anthropology.

So far as pre-historic societies, societies of more than 5,000 up to nearly 550,000 years ago, are concerned the pre-historian can neither observe them, nor read about them. He can only examine such of their artifacts (i.e., objects of nature, like stone, wood, bone, ivory, animal horn and so on, refashioned by the hands of man for use in everyday life) as have not perished, and try to reconstruct from such study some account about the types of action-, thinking-, and feeling-patterns, the economic, social, ritual and aesthetic activities, that might have been characteristic of these ancient pre-historic societies.

The Supplementary Notes at the end of the book are meant to clarify some points covered by inevitably general statements in the first three chapters of the book. Separate Indexes are given for authors, names of tribes used in illustrative material, and the various topics covered by the book. Every attempt has been made to make them comprehensive and hence there is no glossary. Suggestions for further reading are given, *to the beginner,* at the end of each chapter so far as theoretical reading is concerned, and at the end of the book for monographic reading.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The indebtedness of the authors to not only the books listed in the Selected Bibliographies but to many more books and authors is obviously deep. It is likely that we have by oversight given the views of some authors, of course in our own words, without mentioning their names, simply because such views have become a part of our own thinking. However, every attempt has been made to associate authors' names with their views although it has not been regarded essential or helpful to mention all the sources, books and journals.

Special thanks are due to Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, for permission to incorporate Frazer's diagram on magic, taken from his *Golden Bough,* and incorporated in the chapter on Religion and Magic.

Department of Anthropology,
Lucknow University, D. N. M.
November 30, 1955. T. N. M.

on the earth of their artifacts (i.e. objects of nature, like [illegible] by the hands of man for use in everyday life) [illegible] from [illegible] the types of [illegible] and [illegible] critical and [illegible] might have [illegible] of these [illegible] prehistoric [illegible]

The supporting Notes at the end of the book are [illegible] the points covered [illegible] chapters of the book. [illegible] used [illegible] material [illegible] the various topics covered by the book. [illegible] made to [illegible] further reading are given at the end of each chapter so far as [illegible] is concerned, and at the end of the book for [illegible] reading.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

[illegible] of the authors [illegible] to the [illegible] out of [illegible] have been [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible]

[illegible]

CONTENTS

Page

Preface v

I Prolegomena 1

II Anthropology, Cultural and Social 13

III Uses of Anthropology 35

IV The Family 48

V Marriage 71

VI Kinship 98

VII The Clan and Totemism 112

VIII Associations and Dormitories 127

IX The Status of Women in Tribal Society 141

X Religion and Magic 151

XI Art 169

XII Economic Organization 188

XIII Law and Justice 204

XIV Rank and Caste 220

XV Social Organization 240

XVI Tribal India: Past, Present and Future 252

Selected Ethnographic Bibliography 283
Supplementary Notes 285
Indexes 289

CHAPTER I

PROLEGOMENA

Definition and scope of anthropology: a brief historical survey. Branches of anthropology and their inter-relations. Why we study primitive society. Relations of anthropology with natural and social sciences.

DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE

ARISTOTLE is said to have coined the term anthropologist, meaning by it the gossip who talks about himself. The 18th century German idealist Kant wrote a book entitled *Anthropology* in 1789 suggesting the animal origin of man. The word had already found its way into English: an anonymous book published in 1655, entitled *Anthropologie Abstracted,* defined anthropology as the history of the human soul and human anatomy. The word was incorporated in the British encyclopædia by 1822, however without gaining in clarity of meaning. It is defined therein as a discourse upon human nature.

Anthropology is derived out of the root-words *anthropos* meaning man, and *logos* meaning science. This etymological meaning is a sufficiently accurate definition of the scope of the subject. As Kluckhohn has pointed out, out of all the sciences which study various aspects of man, anthropology is the one which comes nearest to being a total study of man. To give expression to the fact that an anthropologist studies all that can possibly be studied about man, some anthropologists have said that anthropology is the science of man 'without portfolio'. And this vast study is limited neither by time nor by space nor even, as is erroneously supposed by some, by the cultural level of a human society. Anthropology studies man present as also past, and also his sub-human and pre-human origins; it studies man on any part of the earth; and it studies man irrespective of whether he is savage or civilized, i.e., it studies man at all levels of culture. But it must not be presumed that by the study of man is implied the study of human anatomy, human evolution, human growth and genetics only. The study of man also includes the study of man's feeling-, thinking-, and action-patterns. To borrow the title of Herskovits's well-known book on anthropology, anthropology is the study of *Man and His Works.*

Back in 1876, Topinard gave a definition of anthropology in his *l'Anthropologie* which has been quoted by Haddon, in 1934, with approval, and according to which anthropology is a branch of natural history and deals with man and the races of mankind. Obviously the implication of what the meaning of the study of man is took quite some time to dawn upon the students of man. These days, however, we have no doubts about what is the scope of anthropology, and what ought to be its definition. It is an historical (which does not necessarily mean evolutionary) study, and studies the development of man ever since his emergence about three-quarters of a million years ago. The physical emergence of man coincided with his emergence as an artificer, and the artifacts of man also have developed ever since the days of the flake, core and chopper tools. And from all the evidence of prehistoric times and from contemporary primitive societies we have the compelling conclusion that society also has existed right from the beginning and that it has changed from time to time going towards greater complexity. Therefore, we may sum up and say that anthropology studies the emergence and development of man from the physical, cultural and social points of view. Physical emergence, evolution and growth are studied by Physical Anthropology. The emergence and development of man as an artificer and his social evolution are studied by Prehistory (with reference to prehistoric man) and Cultural Anthropology (with reference to historic man). However, the dominant interest of Cultural, or Social, Anthropology is not so much the study of the evolution (if any has taken place) as, at least nowadays, the functional study of the working of simpler, pre-literate and pre-urban cultures. These three broad branches, along with the study of the racial and cultural distribution of mankind, cover a variety of sub-studies.

With the inclusion of a body of generalizations on application, anthropology may be conveniently divided into four broad sections, viz.,

(*i*) Physical anthropology or the study of human evolution and growth;
(*ii*) Prehistory and cultural anthropology, or the study of the works of man;
(*iii*) Ethnology, or the racial and the cultural distribution of man; and
(*iv*) Applied anthropology, i.e., the application of the findings of physical and cultural anthropologists, i.e., in ordering race and industrial relations, in colonial administration, in development programmes of underdeveloped countries, and so on.

Within each main section there are sub-sectional studies. Thus, the ideal cultural anthropologist would have to be a linguist-cum-semanticist, a psychologist, a logician, a theologian, an art connoisseur, an economist, and a sociologist all in one, although he may be a specialist in only one of these studies. And there have been anthropologists in the past who have tried to live up to this ideal.

In fact, an anthropologist must have adequate knowledge of all the three basic sectional studies before he can specialize in any one of the three, because they are all intimately interconnected. Man being a unity, the science of man ought to be a unity as well. Besides logical necessity, there is a practical need also for such an integrated approach. Thus, a physical anthropologist must have some knowledge about prehistory, without which he may not be able to study fossil men. Prehistory would lose its human touch if it neglected to study the types of prehistoric men who were responsible for the various prehistoric industries.

The relation between prehistory and cultural anthropology is very intimate. Within the limits imposed by the absence of historical data, prehistory is the cultural anthropology of prehistoric times; it tries to study as much of the culture of those times as is possible on the basis of archaeological, geological and palaeontological, and allied evidence alone. One might say that cultural anthropology without prehistory

The scope of anthropology as outlined may be graphically shown as under:

ANTHROPOLOGY

or

The Science of Man and His Works

1. *The study of Man*

   Physical Anthropology

   1. Study of human evolution;
   2. Study of human variation;
   3. Study of human biology;
   4. Study of inheritance of normal and pathological hereditary characters (Human Genetics).

2. *The study of the Works of Man*

   (a) *Prehistoric Archaeology*

   1. Material culture of prehistoric times;
   2. Derivation of the evolution of society from the study of material culture.

   (b) *Cultural Anthropology*

   The study of the total way of life of contemporary primitive man, his ways of thinking, feeling and action.

3. *The study of Racial and Cultural Distribution of Man on the Earth*

   Ethnology

   1. Comparative study of races and cultures;
   2. Migrations of racial types and diffusion of culture types in past;
   3. Present distribution of races and cultures.

Linguistics and Symbology

1. The comparative study of communication through symbols like language and art.

Thought and Art

1. Primitive logic;
2. Religion, magic, myth and science;
3. Knowledge;
4. Arts: oral literature; music; dance; and the plastic and graphic arts.

Economic Anthropology

1. The study of material culture;
2. Study of production, distribution and consumption of consumers' and producers' goods.

Social Anthropology

1. The study of the development and various types of social life.

would be 'rootless', and prehistory without cultural anthropology would be 'fruitless'. The close relationship between the two studies has been recently pointed out by Robert Redfield. In trying to examine the role played by ideas in human history, he combined the findings of prehistory and cultural anthropology to produce some very remarkable results. He points out that, without the other, each of these subjects is incomplete. Prehistory lays a great deal of emphasis on material culture and is only conjectural about nonmaterial culture. However, its data are historically ordered and sequentially arranged. Both time as well as space are given recognition. But the cultural anthropologist ignores time; he studies a culture at a point in time. However, he studies the whole of culture. Thus, the prehistorian's sense of time complements the cultural anthropologist's totalitarian (or holistic) studies.

Physical anthropology and cultural anthropology come together when, for instance, the study of the cultural implications of race, or traditionally prescribed body mutilations and deformations is undertaken. Tattoo marks, circumcision, filing of teeth (as among the Kadar of Cochin), and the like, are important physical characteristics, when a whole people shares them, which a physical anthropologist must study; but only a cultural anthropologist could explain their occurrence and significance. Therefore, it is essential that, in order to prevent specialization from leading to any check in the growth of knowledge, every anthropologist must strive to have sufficient elementary knowledge about all the three main sectional studies.

To sum up: anthropology is no longer a vague study, nor even ambitiously vague as a study without a portfolio. Anthropology is a well-defined (that is limited) study of the physical, social and cultural aspects of man. Anthropology is not an idler's pursuit, a study that does not concern us of the modern world; it concerns us very vitally in our own lives. It is not a study of exotic savages and supposedly funny, queer customs only; it is not the academic digging up of the past, of broken pottery and fossilized skulls and bones. It is all these and more; it is all these with an aim, and that aim

The scope of anthropology as outlined may be graphically shown as under:

ANTHROPOLOGY
or
The Science of Man and His Works

1. *The study of Man*
   Physical Anthropology
   1. Study of human evolution;
   2. Study of human variation;
   3. Study of human biology;
   4. Study of inheritance of normal and pathological hereditary characters (Human Genetics).

2. *The study of the Works of Man*
   (a) *Prehistoric Archaeology*
   1. Material culture of prehistoric times;
   2. Derivation of the evolution of society from the study of material culture.

   (b) *Cultural Anthropology*
   The study of the total way of life of contemporary primitive man, his ways of thinking, feeling and action.

3. *The study of Racial and Cultural Distribution of Man on the Earth*
   Ethnology
   1. Comparative study of races and cultures;
   2. Migrations of racial types and diffusion of culture types in past;
   3. Present distribution of races and cultures.

Linguistics and Symbology
1. The comparative study of communication through symbols like language and art.

Thought and Art
1. Primitive logic;
2. Religion, magic, myth and science;
3. Knowledge;
4. Arts: oral literature; music; dance; and the plastic and graphic arts.

Economic Anthropology
1. The study of material culture;
2. Study of production, distribution and consumption of consumers' and producers' goods.

Social Anthropology
1. The study of the development and various types of social life.

would be 'rootless', and prehistory without cultural anthropology would be 'fruitless'. The close relationship between the two studies has been recently pointed out by Robert Redfield. In trying to examine the role played by ideas in human history, he combined the findings of prehistory and cultural anthropology to produce some very remarkable results. He points out that, without the other, each of these subjects is incomplete. Prehistory lays a great deal of emphasis on material culture and is only conjectural about nonmaterial culture. However, its data are historically ordered and sequentially arranged. Both time as well as space are given recognition. But the cultural anthropologist ignores time; he studies a culture at a point in time. However, he studies the whole of culture. Thus, the prehistorian's sense of time complements the cultural anthropologist's totalitarian (or holistic) studies.

Physical anthropology and cultural anthropology come together when, for instance, the study of the cultural implications of race, or traditionally prescribed body mutilations and deformations is undertaken. Tattoo marks, circumcision, filing of teeth (as among the Kadar of Cochin), and the like, are important physical characteristics, when a whole people shares them, which a physical anthropologist must study; but only a cultural anthropologist could explain their occurrence and significance. Therefore, it is essential that, in order to prevent specialization from leading to any check in the growth of knowledge, every anthropologist must strive to have sufficient elementary knowledge about all the three main sectional studies.

To sum up: anthropology is no longer a vague study, nor even ambitiously vague as a study without a portfolio. Anthropology is a well-defined (that is limited) study of the physical, social and cultural aspects of man. Anthropology is not an idler's pursuit, a study that does not concern us of the modern world; it concerns us very vitally in our own lives. It is not a study of exotic savages and supposedly funny, queer customs only; it is not the academic digging up of the past, of broken pottery and fossilized skulls and bones. It is all these and more; it is all these with an aim, and that aim is, as Evans-Pritchard puts it, to have an understanding of the wondrous creature that is man, wherever and at whatever time, past or present, he has lived or lives today. The immediate relevancy of anthropology to modern life has been summed up by Kluckhohn when he compares anthropology to a mirror into which man, without any labels of primitive or civilized, may look to understand and appreciate his own unbounded physical and cultural variety.

WHY WE STUDY PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

If, then, anthropology is the study of man without limitations of time, place and cultural level, it may well be asked why cultural anthropology at least has been the study of primitive society only. This has been the consequence of an historical accident, and later on, also of deliberate choice.

The era of world discovery by European powers began in the 15th century. The Americas were discovered and vast explorations and discoveries made in Africa and in the Far East. American plantations, based largely on negro-slave labour from Africa, contributed to the growth of heavy industry in Europe. By the 18th century Europe was going through the Industrial Revolution. The ability to manufacture on a large scale produced the demand for raw materials and world markets, in search of which European business went far and wide. These activities of businessmen were soon followed by political activity, as for instance, in India, to stabilize the supply of raw materials and the demand for finished goods. These were also the days when Christian missionaries extended and intensified their proselytizing activities; they lost no time in following, and sometimes preceding, the pioneers of world trade and Imperialism in the new lands. The success of all these types of men depended upon their ability to achieve some understanding of the new races and the new ways of living they were being faced with. Therefore, they made attempts at studying these peoples' customs and practices, and thus were born the first interested students of pre-urban society.

In the 18th century these primitive societies, discovered by explorers, travellers, businessmen and missionaries, also attracted the attention of the political philosophers of Europe as the latter thought that these societies were examples of the state of nature before any man-made government came into being. This kind of an idea animated Rousseau, for instance, when he eulogised the happy noble savage.

Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859. This may be said to be the date of birth of anthropology as also of all evolutionary studies. Darwin's contemporary, Herbert Spencer, working independently, came to the conclusion that evolution had not operated only in the case of the physical aspects of mankind, but also in their social life. Many 19th century anthropologists studied primitive societies for any evidence they might be able to collect about the origins of human institutions.

In the 20th century the evolutionary bias has lost its appeal, as also the still older interest in the hypothetical state of nature. Anthropologists study primitive societies by deliberate choice. By definition, on the theoretical level, anthropology is often not confined to primitive society only. But in practice, excepting some very recent trends in research, anthropologists have studied primitive societies only, so much so that some critic has called them (with due apologies to the King's English we hope!) 'the barbarologists'. But there have been reasons for the exclusive interests of anthropologists and they have never been ashamed of their subject-matter because no scientist is.

The reasons behind this choice may be divided into conceptual and methodological ones. If one is to study human society and draw some generalizations about it, one possibly cannot do so without studying all types of human society. The concepts of a science of human society must be thoroughly representative to be acceptable to us. This is what is meant by Kluckhohn when he says studying primitive society enables us to understand ourselves better.

Besides, within a broad type, the study of sub-types must be undertaken to arrive at adequate explanatory concepts. This is what is meant by Evans-Pritchard when he says that primitive societies must be studied for their own sake because they have an intrinsic value.

From the methodological point of view, reasons for the choice are similar. If we have two variant types of the same object of study, and one of these is simple and the other complex, then the study of the simpler type is useful in providing some methodological tools for the study of the complex type. The simplicity of primitive society arises out of its being territorially limited; its having a smaller population; its being racially and culturally homogeneous; its having a less complex social group typology; its having a simple technology; its having a slower rate of interaction and inter-communication; its being built more on status than on mobility; its slow degree of innovation; and so on. Therefore, it is more convenient to fashion tools of study on the anvil of primitive society, and then with due modifications apply them to the more complex urban society. One may even venture a forecast about the ways and manner in which a simple type may develop towards a complex one. Ultimately, when one has studied a primitive society, it should be possible to acquire a fair idea of what the nature of human society is; and this is what an anthropologist does. This kind of an approach has been called microcosmic study by Raymond Firth: the study of the macrocosm (the bigger unit) through the study of the microcosm (the smaller unit).

It may be pointed out here that of late anthropologists have been faced with something like a crisis. Primitive society is vanishing. There are two reasons for this. The first of these has been the fact that, more often than not, the contacts between the primitive races of mankind and modern peoples have resulted in disaster. Modern man has created all kinds of problems, cultural, social, economic and hygienic, for primitive man. Thus, the days of evil dawned for the Toda about 1820 when the British administrators chose to retire for the summers into the Nilgiri Hills. Here they came into contact with the Toda. From among the first gifts of civilization which were bestowed upon the Toda were venereal diseases, which took such a heavy toll of life that the Toda are near to total extinction. Elsewhere, as among some sections of the great Naga people of Assam, the missionaries interfered with the social and religious life of the 'natives'. One of the qualities of a simple society is its inner interdependence; but this is a costly quality. If one aspect of life is attacked, the whole structure will be rudely shaken, and may even break down. The consequence is a sense of frustration, often leading to what has been called a loss of nerve, the desire not to multiply, leading to extinction. Open hostilities also have, in Australasia, India, Africa and America, resulted in the extermination of vast numbers of primitive people. Unfortunately, this extermination is not a think of the past; even now there are regular hostilities going on between white men and the natives in Africa, Malaya and elsewhere.

The second, and a more peaceful, manner of the vanishing of primitive societies has been through their being assimilated into non-tribal rural or urban societies. To meet this challenge of the vanishing of their traditional material, anthropologists have widened their interests; they have cultivated community studies.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER SCIENCES

One of the still unresolved theoretical problems engaging the attention of anthropologists is where to put anthropology: among natural sciences, or among social sciences and humanities? From a survey of the writings of the earlier anthropologists of eighty or ninety years ago it is evident that they were not bothered about this problem. Evolutionary interests were a sufficient label for a study to be called a natural science. Then there was also the influence of Comte who founded the science of sociology and regarded it as the science of sciences. Anthropology was also regarded as natural history. Man was held to be part of nature, and the social life of men was held to be automatically subject to the laws of nature. However, even then there were others, the German idealists, who regarded man's life and nature as two separate things. But this duality of opinion seems to have hardly ever troubled the pioneers as it has been troubling modern anthropologists. Even so recently as in the case of Malinowski one can discern an unconscious but unresolved contradiction. On the one hand he talked so much about the bio-psychic processes which underlie, cause and explain human cultural efforts, that one would believe that he would class anthropology along with the physical and natural sciences. He enunciated inexorable laws about human life even as a physicist may do. But, on the other hand, at the same time, his whole functional theory was an application of the naturalistic, instrumental philosophy of John Dewey and others to social science. This made him view culture as an instrument which satisfies the bio-psychic needs of man; and thus he became a humanist. Malinowski's anthropology roams on the borderlines of the natural sciences and humanities.

At the present moment there are two definite points of view on this problem of classification. On the one hand there is the viewpoint well represented by Radcliffe-Brown, Fortes, Nadel and others who hold that anthropology is a natural science and studies human society, often using the methods of the natural sciences. These anthropologists believe that the task of anthropology is not to provide long reports about individual cultures but, through a comparative analysis of all such specific reports, to arrive at 'social laws' regarding the emergence, growth, functioning and change of human societies. These writers believe that there are regularities in social life which are unaffected by the variation of time and place, and hold that the anthropologist's task is to build a body of scientific laws about such repetitive, non-variant relations and events. Any suggestion that man is not a part of nature and, therefore, social life cannot yield to such treatment is countered, by Fortes for instance, by saying that such an argument splits the reality, which is a unity, into two artificial units.

None the less, such a splitting has been regarded by others as the only correct procedure because these others, like Kroeber, Bidney and Evans-Pritchard, believe that the unity of culture and nature is a false unity. As already pointed out, such a point of view goes back to the 19th century German idealists, and before them to 18th century French humanists, and is not new.

The viewpoint which holds anthropology to be a branch of history may be summed up as follows.

A human being is a naturally given thing; but social life, although it is rooted in the bio-psychic nature of man, does not remain tied down to the organic-cum-psychic level. It emerges out to attain a new level, the social level, which is more or less super-psychic and super-organic. Human nature no doubt decrees that man should live in an organized group and perpetuate himself and the race as conveniently as possible; but human nature does not decide that a society should be primitive or modern, rural or urban, communistic or capitalistic. Human nature does not decide that particular types of food should be eaten and in particular ways; nor does it decide what dress we are to wear; nor even how and how many times we may marry; nor how we may approach the supernatural and so on. Therefore, it is apparent that a society is not a naturally given system like the solar system or the structure of an atom. A society is a system of social relations; these social relations are products of history; they are held together by moral values and not natural forces. Therefore, a society is a social and a moral system, and its study has to be classed with sister disciplines, like history for instance. It is a social science which has close relations with the task of refashioning and remoulding life. Anthropologists have been engaged in such tasks of social reconstruction. Therefore, anthropology is a humanity.

However, it must be pointed out that the views expressed in the preceding paragraphs have a relevancy only in connection with cultural anthropology. Obviously, the place of physical anthropology is not open to such doubt and debate; physical anthropology is a physical science among other physical sciences like biology and zoology. It shares many things with zoology, biology and medicine.

Prehistory is akin to cultural anthropology but it uses the methods and evidence of palæontology, geology and chemistry.

It is obvious, therefore, that there is a polarity within the subject itself. Physical anthropology goes naturally nearer to the natural sciences, whereas cultural anthropology proceeds in the reverse direction, towards the social sciences and humanities.

There has been evidence of this basic polarity in the methodology of physical anthropology on the one hand and cultural anthropology on the other. Physical anthropologists follow the methods of the natural and physical sciences. Cultural anthropologists have also made use of models like the statistical and functional models (Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski) drawn from the natural sciences. But they have also used models drawn from history (Evans-Pritchard) and æsthetics (Ruth Benedict). Writing about American anthropology, Redfield believes that the future of anthropology should be characterised by a closer relation with the humanities because of common interests. He cites holistic tendencies (i.e. studying the whole of a culture in its totality), the study of man at all levels of culture, and the developing interest in the study of personality and values, as indications of such a future intimacy of relationship.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *Social Anthropology* (London: Cohen and West, 1951), Chapters I, II and III.

Haddon, A. C., *History of Anthropology* (London: Watts & Co., 1934), Chapter I.

Herskovits, M. J., *Man and His Works* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1952), Chapter I.

Kroeber, A. L. (ed.), *Anthropology Today* (Chicago U.P., 1953), Paper on Relations of Anthropology by Robert Redfield.

Majumdar, D. N., *The Matrix of Indian Culture* (Nagpur University, 1948), Chapters I and II.

Penniman, T. K., *A Hundred Years of Anthropology* (London: G. Duckworth, 1952), Chapter I.

CHAPTER II

ANTHROPOLOGY, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL

Definition and attributes of culture: ethos and eidos; explicit and implicit elements; culture determinism; culture vis-à-vis *the individual; culture and civilization. Theories of culture growth: evolutionism; diffusionism;* kulturkreise *theory; culture areas and marginal areas; British diffusionists; acculturation. Theories of cultural integration: functionalism; patterns of culture; themes; style of life. Social anthropology: latest trends.*

WHAT IS CULTURE

IN THE previous chapter we referred several times to the life of a people as their culture. This requires to be explained, particularly because it is the central concept round which cultural anthropology has grown. 'Culture' can be used to convey various meanings. Thus there is the common, literary use of the term when we use 'culture' to convey social charm and intellectual excellence. This is what Matthew Arnold, famous critic and poet, meant when he defined culture as sweetness and light. There are some sociologists also who use the term 'cultural elite' for the intellectual leaders of a society. Then there are philosophers like Cassirer and sociologists like Sorokin and MacIver to whom culture stands for the moral, spiritual and intellectual attainments of man. David Bidney, philosopher-anthropologist, defines it as the self-cultivation of human nature as also the cultivation of natural, geographical environment.

The Sanskrit term for culture is *sanskriti*. Both Sanskrit and *sanskriti* are derived from *sanskar*, meaning ritual performance. Right from the day he is born, a Hindu goes through various ritual performances as a result of which he is accepted into various roles, like that of an adult or a husband, in the course of his life. *Sanskriti* stands for that state of collective life which can be attained only after going through the various *sanskars.* It is a process of refinement. It is interesting to note that Sanskrit was the urban tongue of ancient India. The rural speech was Prakrit which is derived from *prakriti,* meaning nature. Man is born an a-social being; he attains sociality by going through the *sanskars.*

But anthropologists have used the term differently. Tylor was the first anthropologist to define and make extensive use of the term. He said that culture stands for the beliefs, ideas, customs, laws, morals, arts and other capabilities and skills acquired by man as a member of society. What is emphasized in this definition is that culture is a social heritage; it is the gift of society to an individual. Others, including Malinowski, have paraphrased this definition to point out that the social heritage may be said to consist of a material part and a non-material, intangible, imponderable part. Or, to put it in other words, culture is a total way of life and the instruments, mental, social and material, of which this way is constituted. On the one hand we have social culture and on the other material culture. This view has been extended and yet put in a summarized form by Bidney who defines culture as the product of agrofacts (products of cultivation), artifacts (products of industry), socifacts (social organization), and mentifacts (language, religion, art and so on).

A view of culture as the one outlined above stems from the belief that culture is a substantive reality; a thing which exists *per se.* This may be called the sensate view of culture. But there have been other views too.

Culture has been defined by Marett as communicable intelligence. Redfield amplifies this viewpoint when he defines it as the sum total of conventional meanings embodied in artifacts, social structure and symbols. This idealistic position arises out of the recognition of the all-important role which symbols play in the communication and acquisition of knowledge.

Then there is the formalistic, æsthetic viewpoint of Ruth Benedict, according to which culture is not so much to be conceived in terms of the content of social life as in terms of its formal ordering and organization. Benedict writes on the patterns of culture, not its content.

Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown take the instrumental, humanistic view of culture. To the former, culture stands for a total way of life which secures for an individual the satisfaction of his bio-psychic drives and the fulfilment of other wants and cravings and, ultimately, invests him with freedom. Radcliffe-Brown regards culture as cultivation, the process of handing down and acquiring traditions, as a result of which society is perpetuated. The functionalists take a holistic view: culture, as a whole, is regarded as the unit of study, and not a culture trait (i.e. an item from a culture), as Tylor supposed, nor even a pattern as Benedict said.

There is also a more recent viewpoint espoused by Linton, Kluckhohn, and now very lately by Kroeber, which takes its stand on the plane of the subjective nature of human understanding. Linton says the way of life of a people is one thing, and what we study and write about, another. The former is reality, the latter our understanding of the same. If the former is to be called 'culture', then the latter may be called only 'culture-construct'. It is an abstraction from the reality which is the actual human behaviour. Kluckhohn describes it as a way of thinking, feeling and action, and Gillin makes the viewpoint even more clear by maintaining that culture is not activity, but its patterning. According to this viewpoint, culture is only a model constructed, not by a people themselves, but by an anthropologist who studies their life. Therefore, it is to be differentiated from the actual conduct of life.

From what has been said above, it is obvious that even though culture has been the most dominant concept used by cultural anthropologists, yet there is no unanimity among them as to what culture is. Each viewpoint has led to useful researches, and it will be the task of future research to give a final definition of what constitutes the nature of culture. It may be pointed out here that none of the viewpoints enumerated above enjoys any special superiority over the others.

ATTRIBUTES OF CULTURE

Anthropologists have not, of course, busied themselves only with the definition of culture. They have also tried by comparative study to arrive at some generalizations as regards some attributes of culture.

Ethos and Eidos. Kroeber has drawn attention to two aspects of culture, which he calls *eidos* and *ethos.* Eidos is the formal appearance of a culture derived from its constituents. Contrasted with the aggregate of constituents is *ethos,* the disposition of a culture which determines its quality, its main themes and interests. Bateson also says that each culture can be said to have two aspects: the first, consisting of the total emotional emphases of a culture, called *ethos;* and the second, consisting of the emphases resulting from the cognitive processes operative within a culture, called *eidos.*

Explicit and Implicit Elements. Kluckhohn says that not everything in a people's life may be yielded to us and added to our knowledge merely through sensory observation. Such regularities as may be perceived with the aid of the eye and the ear are the explicit items of a culture. There may be other items which would be perceived by us only after being specially trained for looking for all that is not obvious, the motivations and impulses underlying human action of which the actors themselves may not be conscious. These would be the implicit items of a culture. A total and representative study of a people's way of life must include both explicit as well as implicit items.

Culture Determinism. We are all fairly familiar with the Marxian point of view that cultural ideologies and social and political structures are the superstructure built on the base of economic organization. Culture determinists take the reverse stand; not to speak of economic organization only, society itself is, according to them, the product of culture. Culture, Tylor said, was acquired by man as a member of society, but the culture determinists do not believe in such a social matrix of culture. According to them, culture is the matrix of everything else, and is itself governed by its own laws of growth and operation. Neither human biology, nor human psychology, nor even human society is regarded as capable of explaining its reality. This view, for long associated with the name of Kroeber, who has lately changed his position, has been called the super-organic view; but it is more than that: it is super-psychic and super-social as well.

With the increasing accumulation of the evidence of the role which individuals play in fashioning and changing culture, it became obvious that, among various other types of causes, individuals also were, at least to some extent, the creators of culture. To accommodate this evidence, cultural determinists said that a culture operates 'as if' it were independent of individuals. Leslie White is today the main spokesman for culture determinism, a viewpoint which, it may be said, suffers from the 'culturalistic fallacy' of regarding culture as the essence and the self-moved mover of human life. Human beings, it must be realized, are perhaps equally the creators of culture as they are its creatures and carriers.

Culture vis-à-vis *the Individual.* Linton has pointed out that for the majority of people, who are of the conforming type, culture plays the role of guide. It lays down norms of behaviour and provides the mechanisms which secure for an individual his personal and social survival. Without culture, man would have never survived; therefore it is his liberator, it frees him from biological determinism, but only after exacting a price from him. This price is paid in the shape of surrendering complete independence of action. If a person is to benefit from society, he must conform to its accepted ways of life; and that is what the common man does. Thus, culture is man's guide; it liberates as well as enslaves him as all guides do.

But for the nonconforming few, called 'mystics' by Bergson and 'the creative minority' by Toynbee, culture is the framework within which to try their new ideas. They do not seek to destroy; their nonconformity is not negative but constructive; they seek to change culture. Such a view does not espouse Carlyle's theory that heroes make history; it only points out that human beings are always required to save society from stagnation. The ways of doing so are often inherent in a culture; only someone must come along, perceive these and utilize them. Gandhiji was, for instance, such a one with the requisite understanding. Whether such understanding is intuitive or cultivated is a matter that does not concern us here.

Culture and Civilization. Morgan believed that human society had, since the emergence of man, passed through three stages; beginning with savagery, it had gone through barbarism and come to civilization. This culminating stage of civilization was correlated with the growth of cities, the emergence of writing, metallurgy, science and so on. This use of the term civilization has been generally followed by all anthropologists who contrast pre-urban, pre-literate society with civilized society. Thus civilization represents a particular type of culture.

However, German idealists, and some American sociologists like MacIver influenced by the former, differentiate between culture and civilization differently. Culture is regarded, as has already been said, as the moral, spiritual and intellectual attainments of man. It stands for symbols and values. It is the primary and basic thing; it is inside us, and is what we are. It may register progress or decline.

Civilization is secondary; it is something outside us and consists of technology, material culture and social institutions. It is the sum total of the instruments of cultural life. It is what we have, and will accumulate and it will never progress or decline by itself.

Culture Trait and Culture Complex. When culture is taken to mean the way of life, it is obvious that within this whole there are elements like, say, prayer, ritual, making of stone tools by percussion and so on. Each of these elements is called a culture trait, or element. If a number of culture traits combine together to produce a meaningful congery, a segment within the total culture, then the same is called a culture complex. A culture complex is not an institution: it is the outcome of interaction between several institutions. Culture complex has also been defined as the pattern of the interrelation of culture traits.

THEORIES OF CULTURE GROWTH

Right from the beginning, cultural anthropologists were faced with the problems of the growth of a culture and cultural parallels, i.e., How do cultures come to be and how do they come to have similar culture traits and complexes? The earlier theories about culture were concerned with these two main problems.

Evolutionism. Anthropology as a modern science was born when the star of evolution was shining high and bright. Darwin and Spencer had between themselves sought to establish evolution as the life-breath of all phenomena.

Under the impact of the evolutionary bias of the day, early pioneers like Tylor and Morgan devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the study of the evolution of human society and culture. Other contributory forces also were present to goad them on in this pursuit. Thus there was the widely held belief that, from the point of view of psychic make-up, man was everywhere the same. This was given expression in the phrase 'the psychic unity of mankind'. Consequently, it was believed that, given the same problems, man would think out similar solutions. Variations of environment would, however, register themselves in variations of the same institution as found in various cultures. Thus, cultures were supposed to grow through evolution, from simpler towards complex and differentiated types; and cultural parallels were explained to be the outcome of the psychic unity of mankind. Each institution was believed to evolve independently within the setting of the local culture. If two cultures exhibited similar traits or institutions, the same were referred to as cases of *convergent evolution.* Examples were often cited; thus agriculture had been evolved independently in south-eastern and south-western Asia and in the New World. Zero was invented independently by the Hindus, Babylonians and Mayas; corbelling by the Mycenaeans, Mayas and Eskimos. Writing is believed to have been evolved independently in various parts of the world on half a dozen occasions. Paper-making and printing also were evolved independently in the East and the West. This list would run long.

Prominent examples of how the evolutionary theorists argued may be taken from the writings of Morgan, Tylor, Haddon and Levy-Bruhl.

Believing that human societies have evolved from lower into higher types, Morgan postulated three stages. To begin with man lived in savage society, which had an older period, a middle period (synchronising with fishing and the use of fire) and a later period (when the bow and arrow were used). With the invention of pottery, man entered the older period of barbarism. Domestication of animals and cultivation of plants by irrigation ushered in the middle period of barbarism. From the time the process of smelting iron ore was invented and iron tools made use of, till the next change, man lived in the later period of barbarism. Then came civilization, ushered in by the invention of a phonetic alphabet and writing. Civilization, according to Morgan, was as well the contemporary condition of western European society.

Turning his attention to the content of culture, Morgan applied the same kind of conjectural reasoning. Assuming that legally enforced monogamy was the highest stage of the marital bond, he supposed the evolutionary process to have started from a hypothetical stage of promiscuity and to have gone through stages of group marriage, polyandry, voluntary monogamy and polygyny. Corresponding to the changes in the nature of the marital bond, various types of family were also believed by him to have evolved out of the clan through stages of matrilineal and patrilineal reckoning into the bilateral family.

Tylor made a similar study of the growth of religions. He regarded animistic polytheism to have been the earliest and the simplest form of religion. Then must have come an intermediary stage of a higher polytheistic ideology which ultimately gave way to monotheism.

Likewise, Haddon traced art forms from an early realistic stage, through geometric into symbolic, or abstract forms.

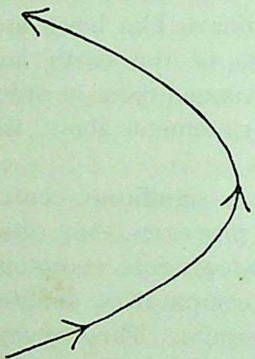
Levy-Bruhl also posited the evolution of modern logic from a primitive logic. He asserted that, in so far as the primitives are not conscious of the implications of contradiction and physical separateness—which he asserted they are not—theirs is a mentality undeveloped as compared to ours. He therefore chose to call it a pre-logical mentality.

Evidence for all these conjectural reconstructions was collected from various cultures spread over time and space without bothering too much about the significance of cultural context. Students of material culture went even so far as to collect various specimens of various artifacts, like bows and arrows for instance, from various parts of the earth and belonging to different times; they then arranged them in order of ascending complexity and made a statement about the evolution of the bow and arrow.

Whereas these early evolutionists made significant contributions to our understanding of cultural processes, they often became extremist in their espousal of independent evolution. Their uncritical use of the method of comparative analysis brought them and the method into disrepute. They always spoke in terms of logical sequences, irrespective of whether there was any historical evidence in support of the same or not. They revealed a strange ignorance of the role of cultural borrowing. They were armchair theorists drawing amazingly uncritically upon the accounts of travellers and missionaries. Their preoccupation with building schemes of cultural evolution made them blind to other ways of cultural growth and other explanations of cultural parallels. They also revealed a high degree of ethnocentrism, arising directly out of their belief that society and culture had advanced to reach their perfection in 19th century Europe. Their judgments of primitive cultures were vitiated by this ethnocentric attitude.

Various writers developed modified forms of evolutionism. Thus, there is the theory that social institutions do not develop in an upward straight line, but along a parabolic curve. An institution starts in a particular form, develops into its opposite, and then further develops into its original form, but at a new, higher level. Thus, the earliest form of property ownership was undeliberate communal ownership. Later on, the institution of private ownership emerged, but the communistic doctrine has already re-established a rational, communal ownership of property through the agency of the state. Other examples are illustrated in the diagram.

1. Communal ownership, deliberate through the state.
2. Nudism, as a physical culture movement.
3. Loosening of rigid sexual morality, justified on various grounds.



1. Private ownership.
2. Dressing of the whole body.
3. Monogamy.

1. Communal ownership of property: undeliberate.
2. Lack of clothing.
3. Promiscuity.

Diffusionism. The insistence of evolutionists that culture traits always evolve independently, and that cultural similarities are the consequence of parallel or convergent evolution created many critics for them. Not that such processes of growth were denied, but the complete neglect of known instances of customs and artifacts being added to a culture by borrowing was resented as an unscientific disregard for history. It did not require special field training to realize that the doctrine of unilinear development of human society from savagery to barbarism to civilization, from promiscuity to group marriage to monogamy, and from hunting to pastoralism to agriculture to handicrafts to industrial life was not tenable in the light of the accumulating knowledge about the socio-economic life of the simpler folk of the world. In the biological sciences, the rediscovery of Mendel's laws of inheritance provided a point of departure from Darwinism; and there was also a corresponding shift from Spencer's position in the social sciences. Nor was special training required to observe that culture traits and also whole culture complexes are passed from one group to another through the agency of communication or migration. Two people may simply be living in physical proximity; a high frequency of inter-communication would be the consequence. Such inter-communication would be in the form of words, customs, spouses, goods and services, beliefs and so on. It is obvious that if two people, not belonging to the same culture group, are at a stone's throw from each other, then they must observe each other's dress, ornaments, utensils and outdoor life. They may as naturally talk to each other, and that could be done only after picking up some words from each other's speech. One need not labour any more on the reality of cultural inter-communication through physical contact. Culture traits may also be carried by a migrating people into an area where they settle down temporarily and may be communicated to the inhabitants there. All this constructive criticism of evolutionary extremism stemmed not from logical reasoning or conjecture but from the knowledge of actual historical happenings. Such transmission of culture, leading to culture growth and culture parallels was called 'diffusion'.

The Kulturkreise School. Some German-speaking writers. Graebner, Ankermann and Schmidt being the prominent among them, presented a theory of diffusion in the early years of this century and their followers have since been propagating it. Their theory consists of a belief in evolution tempered with diffusion. They said that various culture complexes develop at various times in different parts of the world and later on diffuse over corresponding portions of the earth. Such diffusion is a continuous process and layers of diffused-in culture traits may be identified in a culture. *Kulturkreise* means a culture-circle or a culture-district.

These scholars depended too much upon the evidence of material culture and did not substantiate all their schemes of diffusion of social institutions. However, Graebner, from among them, made an important and lasting contribution by evolving the criteria of quantity and form. He said that when historical evidence is lacking mere superficial resemblance is not enough to conclude that diffusion has taken place. Along with similarity of form there should be the sameness of the number, and the arrangement of constituent elements of a trait or a complex. Thus, if it is to be seen if the knowledge of the zodiac has diffused from one place to another one must look for the same signs, the same number of signs and the same clockwise or anti-clockwise manner of reckoning distribution.

Critics have accused this school of mysticism so far as its view of the growth of culture is concerned. Certainly this theory is at best an attempt at explaining diffusion in certain areas, and the same has been done better by others. The *Kulturkreise* school has also been called the *Kulturhistorische Schule,* i.e., culture-historical school.

Culture Area Approach. Graebner and others were concerned with discovering the facts of a case of diffusion. Boas raised the additional question of 'Why does it take place?' It is this concern with the cause and dynamic effects of culture contact which distinguishes American diffusionists from others.

Franz Boas divided the study of diffusion into various stages. Firstly, the facts of the situation must be described. Then, analytical study may be started, proceeding from the particular to the general, making a map of actual distribution in a restricted area, before covering continents and the world. The reasons for the dynamics of contact must be ultimately sought, Boas advised, in the psychic make-up of the individual.

Clark Wissler developed these basic viewpoints, and defined the restricted area, to which Boas refers, as a *culture area.* Wissler also pointed out the need, in fact the compulsion, which necessitates such narrowing down of ambitions. He pointed out that a culture trait, particularly if it is non-material, cannot travel long distances without getting diluted *en route,* partly by losing some of its features and partly by getting associated and mixed up with features that do not belong to it. He demonstrated that in each culture area, consisting of a certain set of culture complexes, a central point of dispersal could be located, and boundaries fixed when the culture-complexes involved become most diluted and the influence of a vague but distinctly alien culture is felt. Wissler also pointed out that long distances, mountains, oceans, arid deserts prove to be effective barriers to culture diffusion. However, actual experience has shown that discontinuous diffusion (generally as a result of migration, or as a result of further change in the intermediary area, or the strong individuality and resistance power of this intermediary area) also does take place.

Wissler substantiated his theory by mapping out various culture areas in the Americas. Each *area of characterization* was defined by him in terms of technological, artistic and institutional features; and he showed that a culture area might embrace several distinct populations.

The people who live on the borders of two culture areas share features from both the ways of living. These have been called *marginal areas.*

British Diffusionists. Even before Europeans and Americans talked about diffusion, Tylor had already pointed it out as a process of culture growth. He wrote that civilization is like a plant that is oftener propagated than independently grown. He even traced the diffusion of several culture elements, like the Madagascar bellows which he said had come from the East. But, 'British diffusionists' is a description which refers to Elliot Smith, W. J. Perry and their followers. They were the last of the diffusionists to come on to the world-scene and the first to disappear.

Elliot Smith and Perry insist on the universal spread of culture from Egypt, but their data have been found out to be inadequate, and unreliable. It is no doubt difficult to prove the simultaneous discovery of similar culture traits of a complex nature, and as Tylor said, unless there is evidence to the contrary, diffusion must be accepted as the generally usual process. But these British scholars, also known as Egyptologists, put forward a queer hypothesis. They said that man is very unimaginative and uninventive and that only very favourable environmental stimuli may result in man making inventions. They further held, and it is here that absurdity was incorporated in their view, that such favourable circumstances were found only in ancient Egypt. Therefore, the Egyptians, the Children of the Sun as Perry called them, were the chosen ones of history. These scholars tried to map world-wide distributions of various cultural institutions, rooting them all in Egypt, the cradle of all human civilization. In advocating such a theory they dug its early grave.

Hutton pointed out to Perry that it was a commonplace that identical results flowed from very different causes and regions, and in support of his contention, Hutton gave examples. He mentioned (*i*) the fire piston independently invented in Asia and France; (*ii*) the bull-roarer discovered independently by the Australians, N. W. Thomas and whoever else uses it; (*iii*) the use of adrenalin as an arrow poison by certain Amazonian Indians; and (*iv*) the use of suggestion in magic and medicine. However, Perry tried somehow or other to belittle the significance of these examples, and similar others.

It may be pointed out here that duplication of scientific research is no evidence against diffusion because of the fact that discoveries have been inspired by the same literature. Kroeber thinks that complex traits existing at different places and yet having their elements combined in the same combination are undoubtedly of common origin.

To sum up: cultures grow and cultural parallelism arises from both independent evolution as also diffusion. There are no inexorable laws about sequential evolution, nor about the uninventiveness of man. Cultural borrowing will always make impossible growth stage by stage and upwards in a straight line. Likewise, distance and resistance will always put checks on diffusion. Whether a particular case of growth is the outcome of evolution only or diffusion only is, therefore, a misleading question as both the processes operate. A particular case of parallelism may be the outcome either of convergent evolution or diffusion; and which factor operated in a particular case will be decided not by any theory, but by the actual facts of the case.

Acculturation. A natural sequel to the culture area studies of Wissler and the study of the dynamics of contact initiated by Boas has been the considerable attention which a large number of American anthropologists have given to the study of the changing of one way of life through impact with another. When culture-traits or -complexes *have been* diffused we talk about diffusion, but when a whole way of life *is* in process of change under the influence of another culture we call it *acculturation.* Linton, Redfield, Herskovits, Hallowell and Beals have made important contributions towards the development of a body of explanatory concepts relating to acculturation. Thus Herskovits says that when a growing child learns to conform to his own cultural traditions, the process may be designated as *enculturation.* When there is exchange of culture traits and complexes it may be called *transculturation,* but when one way of life is being displaced by another, it is *acculturation.* Acculturation may lead to assimilation, but very often it does not. The dominated culture breaks down at first and then recovers to develop a reaction to the loss of its own individuality. Such a reaction is called *contra-acculturation.* An example is available from contemporary India: after centuries of exploitation and material impoverishment, the Chota Nagpur tribes have developed a new-found sense of strength and opposition which has resulted in the *Jharkhand* movement demanding autonomy in cultural, social, economic and political matters.

Acculturation studies have been motivated by the realization that there are no 'pure' or 'uncontaminated' cultures in the world today. Secondly, the conjectural studies of diffusionists about what happened in unrecorded history had also to be supplemented by more authentic studies of a scientific value in order to develop theoretical, explanatory postulates.

THEORIES OF CULTURE INTEGRATION

Functionalism. After the problems of culture growth and parallelism had been given some satisfactory answers, some anthropologists raised the question, 'What is the internal structure of a culture?' Is it a loose congery of 'agrofacts', 'artifacts', 'socifacts', and 'mentifacts' having no inner interrelation or consistency? If not, then, 'What is it that makes culture a meaningful whole?' In this connexion, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown put forward the viewpoint which has come to be known as functionalism. They hold that there is an inner consistency in a culture, or in other words, cultures are integrated wholes. Why that is so, they explain differently.

Malinowski makes use of Tylor's definition of culture, but does not mean by it a super-organic reality as Tylor did. To Malinowski, culture is an instrument which enables man to secure his bio-psychic survival and, subsequently, a 'higher' mental-intellectual survival. Therefore, since each aspect of a culture, whether it is economic organization or social organization or religion or language, is rooted in the needs of the human being, they are all inter-related to each other through the common ground in which they are rooted, i.e., the human being with his needs. Therefore, Malinowski does not believe in loose survivals. The evolutionists often referred to obviously function-less culture traits as *survivals* or 'hang-overs' from the past. Malinowski ridiculed this as inability to search for the proper place of the so-called survivals in a culture. There is nothing loose within a culture: it is all interconnected, and no single trait has any meaning by itself unless it is seen in the context of the whole. Similarly, diffusion was interpreted by him in a new manner. He said that when a trait is diffused, it may retain its original form, but it can perform only such a function for which there is scope in the culture into which it is diffused. Thus, Malinowski emphasized the self sufficiency and the holistic character of a culture. He pointed out that if one aspect of a culture is changed the whole of it will change.

Malinowski believed in *culture pluralism;* he said that every culture grows in response to localized versions of the bio-psychic needs of a people, and that it is to be judged in terms of these and not in terms of any absolute values. Adequacy in terms of local needs is the characteristic of a well-integrated culture in the light of prevailing knowledge.

But Malinowski fails us at the end when he does not provide us with any integrated conception of the human being who remains only a set of needs and cravings.

Radcliffe-Brown is more concerned with the survival of society than that of the individual only. He, therefore, points out that integration within a culture being the only way to secure the survival of society, such integration is both an ideal as also the reality. If such integration breaks down, there will be no society. And the function of every single institution is the contribution it makes towards the solidarity of the group as a whole—not towards the fulfilment of individual needs, bio-psychic and socio-cultural, as Malinowski would put it.

Both these viewpoints are partial in the sense that they conceive of integration only in terms of the content of a culture. Form is not subservient to function, as Malinowski imagined it to be. It has an independence of its own; and integration prevails also on the formalistic level. And to that we will now turn our attention.

Patterns of Culture. Deriving her inspiration as also her models from the field of art and æsthetics, Ruth Benedict said that the integration in a culture is brought about by its content being arranged into a permanent or semi-permanent design or style. Such a design, she called *pattern.* Within a culture there would be the style of each large segment, and these segmental styles would come together into a super-style which would be the design of the culture as a whole. This is called *configuration.* She further indicates that all styles are harmonious with each other and blend into a harmonious configuration. This harmony, she says, arises out of a main tendency or trend which every culture exhibits in all its aspects. This main tendency or trend, she calls the *genius* of a culture. It is this genius or spirit of a people which brings about integration in their culture, the integration of form. She believes that in human society this genius may be of one of the two possible types, the *Apollonian* or the *Dionysian*. 'Apollonian' is derived from Apollo, the benign sun god of the ancient Greeks, and 'Dionysian' is derived from Dionysius, the turbulent Greek god of drink and carnivals. The Apollonian genius represents the principle of calm composure and the same would characterise all aspects of the culture concerned and bring about its integration. The Dionysian genius represents the principle of storm and would bring about integration and harmonious blending of a culture by pervading all its aspects. Benedict gave three examples from the Dionysian sorcerers of Dobu and the Kwakiutl of the north-western coast of America and the Apollonian Pueblos of New Mexico.

It may be pointed out here that a full theory of integration would itself have to be an integration of the points of view of Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Benedict.

Themes. M. E. Opler has put forward the concept of *themes* to explain integration. Themes are defined as general motivations which are responsible for various sets of behaviour types in a society. The need for such an enlarged restatement of what is very much like Benedict's theory obviously stems from the limitation which Benedict put on the ways in which the genius of a people may seek self-fulfilment. Opler's themes are not tied down to any types; he leaves that to every field investigator to find out for himself. Therefore, Opler's concept of themes is more elastic than Benedict's concept of patterns. Themes are the specific expressions of cultural integration in each individual case. Opler has illustrated how this concept may be used in his account of the Apache lifeway. The concepts of patterns and themes are both keys to the specific structure and character of a way of living.

Style of Life. The latest addition to concepts of the kind described above is Redfield's concept (if it may be so called) of *style of life*. He defines it as consisting not of culture but of all that may be regarded as most fundamental and permanent about a culture which has persisted in time. It would include ways of securing a living in so far as these play a role in the shaping of the conception of what constitutes the good life. Style of life emphasizes explicit and implicit judgments about the constituents of right conduct. Also included are those comparatively superficial, though no less significant, tastes and performances which invest a people with their own peculiar individuality. Redfield compares his style of life to Lionell Trilling's *manners,* which the latter has defined as the implicit, explicit and unutterable expressions of value. Redfield has not, as he himself writes, given a new principle of integration; he only defines the place where it may be said to be located.

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The Background. In the previous chapter we pointed out that a section of anthropological studies is given to the study of contemporary primitive cultures; and in this chapter we have tried to explain the meaning and significance of the term 'culture'. It is obvious that cultural anthropology would involve a study of socio-economic and political life, as also of religion, language, arts, knowledge etc. It is also possible io visualize anthropology as a study of social processes and organization. In fact such a viewpoint and emphasis has been there right from the beginning. Tylor, using the concept of culture, made his studies with the aid of the findings of psychology and history, whereas Morgan, his contemporary, utilized the findings of sociology and conducted his studies with reference to society, and not culture. Durkheim made far-reaching contributions to this latter viewpoint by emphasizing that social phenomena are independent of their psychological foundations and must be explained with the help of sociological explanations. The two traditions, one of studies in terms of culture and the other of studies in terms of society, have developed alongside of each other. Today we find that whereas American anthropologists are associating themselves with the Tylorian (i.e., originally British) 'culturological' approach, British anthropologists, deeply influenced by Durkheimean sociologism, are developing the social anthropology whose founder, we may say, was Morgan, an American. Contemporary American anthropologists have taken their stand on the position that the concept of culture provides for a much wider scope than does the concept of society. A study of culture would include more than the study of social life. In other words they believe that social anthropology is a segmental study and the study of society is contained in the study of culture. Thus, the difference between cultural and social anthropology is sought to be shown as one of scope.

There would be many who would not agree with such a narrow interpretation. Social anthropolgy is different from cultural anthropology, they would say, because of the different emphases it employs and the different concepts and methods it uses. It has been demonstrated that it is possible to study all that a cultural anthropologist does without using the concept 'culture', and instead the concepts 'social structure' and 'social organization', each derived from the study of society.

Contemporary Developments. Radcliffe-Brown has pointed out that when one goes to do field-work in a society, one does not 'meet' or apprehend the culture anywhere. What one experiences and understands is the impact of social relations. It is obvious that not all social relations could be of importance and, therefore, could not, in all cases, lead to significant conclusions if studied. Only such social relations need be studied which repeat themselves, and only their regularities need be studied to derive the form of social relations. The relatively permanent aspects of repetitive social relations constitute *social structure.* It is the pattern of inter-relations between persons, i.e. the institutionally fixed types into which the members of a society have to fit themselves. Therefore, by studying social structure we are able to understand the continuity exhibited in and by social life.

Recently Raymond Firth and Radcliffe-Brown have developed the concept of *social organization* as distinguished from social structure. Within the broad framework of social structure, persons always keep making choices, between alternatives, which have significant consequences. The appearance of a social structure at a particular time, as it is being activated by the choice-making persons, is social organization. It explains social change. The study of social structure is comparable to the study of human anatomy, and that of social organization to that of human physiology, and, in addition, also to that of pathology. Social organization stands for how social structure works out in time.

Using the concepts of structure, organization etc., contemporary British social anthropologists engage in the comparative study of human behaviour in institutionalized forms. They, and others of their persuasion on the Continent and in other parts of the world, seek to arrive at generalizations about social processes. Nadel has, in his *Foundations of Social Anthropology* (1951), provided a formidable set of methodological postulates for social anthropology.

On the Continent, Claude Levi-Strauss envisages the future of social anthropology as a study complete by itself in terms of *communication studies.* A society is represented as a network of inter-communications between persons and groups. The study of communication, of words and symbols conveying meanings between persons in a society, would constitute the study of linguistics, knowledge, art etc. The study of the communication of spouses (men in a matrilocal society and women in a patrilocal society) between various groups would constitute the study of marriage, kin groups, and kinship usages. And the communication of goods and services between persons as also groups would constitute the scope of the study of economic organization and material culture. Thus studies of human societies may be studies not in terms of culture but in terms of structures which embody culture.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benedict, R., *Patterns of Culture* (Pelican Book), 1946.
Bidney, D., *Theoretical Anthropology* (Columbia U.P., 1953), Chapters II and IV.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *Social Anthropology.*

Herskovits, M. J., *Man and His Works,* Chapters II and VI.

Kroeber, A. L., and C. Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (Harvard, 1952).

Lowie, R., *The History of Ethnological Theory* (New York, 1937).

Malinowski, B., *A Scientific Theory of Culture* (University of North Carolina Press, 1944), Chapter IV.

Tyler, E. B., *Primitive Culture,* 2 Vols. (London, 1913).

CHAPTER III

USES OF ANTHROPOLOGY
(Applied Anthropology)

Historical background: work of political philosophers, travellers, explorers, administrators and missionaries; emergence of anthropology; Comtean Positivism and its consequences; the Golden Stool of the Ashanti and flags of the Oraon; British Colonial Service and the Indianist Policy. Anthropologists at work: contribution during the War and in the post-War era; national character studies. Scope of applied anthropology: Boas on anthropology and modern life; the humanistic philosophy underlying Functionalism; social engineering or social medicine; fact-gathering and Evans-Pritchard; Nadel on anthropology and modern life; the future of applied anthropology in India.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

ANTHROPOLOGY as an independent discipline is a recent intellectual adventure, but it would be wrong to say that the first anthropologists started from scratch. There were traditions emanating from various sources which the pioneers encountered, and it was not always easy to reconcile these traditions. The so-called primitive societies had been studied in the 18th century by political philosophers who were in search of evidence for the theoretically postulated 'state of nature', prior to the emergence of the state as a political agency. The aim with these political philosophers was an academic one; at least the aim of studying primitive institutions was undoubtedly so with them. But they were by no means the only people who studied primitive societies; travellers and explorers also reported on the life of exotic peoples, and they did so out of curiosity. The impulse which motivated the writings of these travelogues containing fanciful accounts of primitives was a personal one; it had little to do with scientific research.

But there were others also who studied the primitives, and the semi-primitives. Following the Industrial Revolution, European countries and England were faced with the problem of utilizing the tremendous amount of power they had just learnt to generate, the power of steam and the power of machines. Possibilities of supply of goods far exceeded maximal potential demand. So, agents of industry, trade and commerce set sail to find raw materials and markets where they could go to sell their finished goods. Africa, Asia and the Far East were the direction in which they set sail. As is well known, the political flag followed the commercial ships, to begin with, only to secure a stable supply of raw materials and a permanent and increasing demand for goods. This required political action. It is an undeniable historical fact that imperialism and colonialism are only developed forms of capitalism, which is itself the consequence of the Industrial Revolution. And it suited the ends of these agents of commerce and imperialism to study the language, customs and practices of the people over whom they sought to establish control. Among the earliest ethnographic reports compiled in India were those of the British administrators, and they were no anthropologists.

However, there were others also at work. Following the Reformation, Christianity emerged as a tremendous missionary activity seeking to secure a safe place in Heaven for the pagans and the heathens of non-Christian continents like Africa and Asia. In order to convey the gospel to them, and to do so most efficiently and expeditiously, the Christian missionaries also had to undertake the study of the social and religious institutions of the simpler and ruder folks among whom they went to work. The writings of these missionaries are universally well known and some of them have produced excellent works born out of their humanitarian and sympathetic attitudes.

With the writings of the political philosophers, travellers and explorers in the background, and the pens of administrators and missionaries scribbling around them, the pioneer anthropologists, the Tylors and the Morgans, also raised their pens to write on primitive societies, and, like their predecessors and contemporaries, for no love of primitive society itself. Comte and Darwin and Spencer provided the impulse. Darwin set anatomists searching for the missing links between the higher apes and modern man, a gap which remained unfilled in the evolutionary ladder; these comparative anatomists were the first physical anthropologists. Comte and Spencer set students of contemporary social life and its institutions searching for those theoretically postulated earlier and simpler forms out of which the former were believed to have evolved. It was thus that, in the beginning, anthropology was hitched to the evolutionary theory.

These above-mentioned influences were not the only operative forces in the field. The philosophy of Positivism, enunciated by Auguste Comte, loomed large on the intellectual horizon of the time. It was he who had conceived of the science of human society which he named social physics or sociology. Comte emphasized that scientific inquiry had to be positivistic, i.e. based on scientific and empirical facts. Comte's views combined well with the empiricism of Bacon, Hume and Locke and with Mill's system of logic. Comte also emphasized that the role of sociology was to expedite progress which in his time was regarded as an historical inevitability.

Close to him in time, Tylor obviously seized upon the teachings of Comte in their fullness. He envisaged anthropology not only as the science of cultural history, regarding culture as a superorganic substantive reality, but also as a reformist science. In emphasizing the reformist role of anthropology, Tylor was perhaps being more true to his Victorian background.

Comtean Positivism emerged, in course of time, as an exclusive emphasis on pure research and an anti-metaphysical and an anti-applied research bias. It has been a stranglehold which has not even now let go its grip on anthropological research. And, therefore, *applied* (or, *action*) *anthropology* is a 20th century achievement. The only journal devoted exclusively to this subject,. *Applied Anthropology*, started publication as recently as 1941.

1859, the year of publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, has been mentioned as the date of birth for anthropology. Likewise, 1921, the year of the third Ashanti outbreak may be suggested as the date of birth for applied anthropology. The Ashanti, a tribe of the western coast of Africa, had a king who sat on an ordinary stool but rested his arm on a stool, similar to the one on which he sat, but partially covered with gold and supposed to have descended from the sky. It was regarded as the seat of the collective soul of the Ashanti people, and, consequently, it was treasured as a holy and powerful symbol. Whenever the need arose to summon all the vast power symbolized by the Golden Stool, the king would ostensibly sit three times on it. The Golden Stool was regarded as much too sacred to be put on bare ground; the ground under it was always covered with an elephant skin and, over the skin, with a special cloth. Towards the end of the last century, in 1896, the British came into conflict with the Ashanti. The British officials tried to get possession of the Golden Stool, thinking that by so doing the turbulent Ashanti could be subjugated. But, contrary to their expectations, these attempts were decisively resisted and the Stool was concealed. In 1921 it was discovered that some 'criminals' had sold the gold decorations of the Stool; the Ashanti people were furious and demanded that the offenders be killed. An outbreak with the British was imminent when Captain Rattray, the Government Anthropologist, intervened and allowed the Ashanti to keep the Stool and to punish the offenders with banishment. The significance of the Golden Stool, and of anthropology, had been at last understood.

About the same time, a similarly instructive, though much less known, incident took place in the heart of tribal India.

Every Oraon village has a flag, or flags, which they carry in procession to their inter-village dancing meets known as *yatra*. A contractor who was to construct a railway bridge was assisted by people of two villages in the vicinity, one Hindu and the other Oraon. Superstitious beliefs were prevalent about the spirits supposed to dwell in the river over which the bridge was to be constructed, for on two previous occasions the bridge had been washed away as a result of rains and floods. The contractor wanted to placate the gods of both the villages; accordingly, he repaired an old, dilapidated Hindu temple, and presented a flag with a railway engine painted on it to the Oraon. The possession of the new flag, which indicated power, was coveted by other Oraon villages. Members of a village who wanted to increase their power made a very large flag with a railway train painted on it and marched triumphantly in procession to the annual *yatra*. The villagers who had originally been presented with the flag by the contractor protested against this later flag of the other village, and a free fight followed in which two were killed and many injured. The police confiscated the new flag and prosecuted a large number of people, for criminal breach of peace, resulting in the conviction of some of the villagers.

The next year precautions were taken by the district magistrate against recurrence of trouble and he requested Sarat Chandra Roy, an Indian anthropologist, to assist him. Roy made a flag with the emblem of an aeroplane on it and presented it to the villagers who had carried the new offending flag the previous year. Roy explained to the village elders the superiority of the aeroplane which was readily understood by them. A happy solution had been found by an anthropologist where the police would have had to use sterner methods. That year there was no trouble at the *yatra*.

The lesson of experiences like these was not lost upon the British; a course in anthropology was prescribed for every person taking training to become a member of the British colonial service.

Whereas the British learnt the utility of anthropology in their colonial territories, the Americans did so at home. After a long unfortunate policy which uprooted and exterminated a large number of the native races of North America, a policy which was based primarily on the desire to push the western frontier on to the sea, anthropology was brought in in the United States not only to rescue the dying Red Indian but also the baffled administrator. (The amazing lack of understanding evinced even by men of understanding in tackling the native peoples of America has been well portrayed by Howard Fast in his historical novel *The Last Frontier*.) In 1933, Commissioner John Collier took a big step forward by associating anthropologists with the United States Office of Indian Affairs. The later Indianist Policy has been one of enlightened administration, based more on anthropological principles than confused good intentions.

Mexico and some of the Latin American countries have followed profitably the example of the United States. And these days, American and British anthropologists are taking an increasingly important part in the efficient management of the development programmes of un- and under-developed areas.

It must be mentioned here that long before the British and the Americans thought of it, the Dutch and the French regularly gave training in anthropology to those officers who were responsible for the administration of their colonies.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS AT WORK

And what have the anthropologists done? What have the anthropologically trained administrators achieved? To begin with, only a negative role was envisaged for them and they discharged their duties as 'trouble-shooters' creditably. It is, comparatively speaking, only recently that anthropologists have been called upon to fill positions in which they could make positive contributions. The time for testing was provided by World War II, and anthropologists answered the call; they made positive contributions wherever some problems of human relations were likely to arise. Clyde Kluckhohn has listed the numerous contributions made by anthropologists in America to the winning of the war. He refers to their work, in their professional capacity, in military Intelligence and the training of native forces, in the Department of State, the Office of Strategic Services, the Board of Economic Warfare, the Strategic Bombing Survey, Military Government, the Selective Service Organization, the Office of Naval Intelligence, the Office of War Information, the Quartermaster Corps, the Federal Bureau of Investigations, the War Relocation Authority, the Alcan Highway Project, the Hydrographic Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, the Foreign Economic Administration, the Federal Security Administration, the medical branch of the Army Air Forces, and the Chemical Warfare Division. Anthropologists also tackled problems of securing cooperation from, and boosting up the morale of, civil populations. More recently, during the Korean War, the results of experiments on propaganda through 'leaflet-bombardment' tried out back in America were used in fighting the Northern forces.

It must not be thought that anthropologists have no peacetime utility. They have undertaken the study of human problems involved in the technological changes which are taking place in all the underdeveloped areas. Studies of growth and comparative raciology are significant contributions to the daily life of the common man. The race problem has been solved by the anthropologists by showing conclusively that mental attributes are not casually related to race, at any rate not to race only; it is only the politicians who have refused to pay heed to what the anthropologists have said. Attempts have been made to further our knowledge of serology which has significance for medical research. Labour-employer relations have been studied to minimize tensions which generally exist between various classes. Value-attitude systems have been studied in order to control demographic trends, food habits and social change. In sum, every attempt is being made to develop anthropology into the therapeutic science of human relations.

Mention may also be made here of the recent *national character* studies. It was during the War that Ruth Benedict was asked to compile a report on Japanese collective attitudes. She did so on the basis of documentary evidence and data collected from the Japanese living in America. The result was not only a fairly accurate monograph on the traits of Japanese collective character but also the 'inauguration' of national character studies. The impulse behind these is to understand the basic drives within a people's culture which are a part of every person's personality and which may be manipulated in war and peace for the furtherance of certain aims and ends.

Enough has been said to indicate how immense is the future of applied anthropology. But, paradoxical as it may seem, this immensity is not accepted as a legitimate field by all. Attempts have been made to define strictly and limit the scope of applied anthropology.

Scope of Applied Anthropology

About thirty years back Franz Boas published a book entitled *Anthropology and Modern Life.* In it he showed how anthropologists could make themselves really useful by undertaking the study of hereditary factors in crime, the significance of race and the role of education in human society. Besides, Boas had devoted a good deal of his own efforts to the study of growth, and the influences of environmental variation on hereditary factors. Compared with what contemporary writers, like Kluckhohn and Nadel, envisage the nature of the relation of anthropology to modern life to be, Boas's statement strikes one as an understatement. However, the significance of Boas's viewpoint lies in the lead it gave to American anthropology to relate itself to no secluded 'pure' interests but to human problems in order to make anthropology genuinely the science of man.

What Boas did for American anthropology, Malinowski and, to a lesser extent, other functionalists have done for British anthropology; and it is important to acknowledge the influence of Malinowski's views outside British anthropology. Malinowski made extensive use of the concept of culture, a fact which brings him close not only to his British predecessors but also to American anthropology. But it must not be presumed that his understanding of this concept was not different from that of his predecessors, his use of Tylor's definition of culture notwithstanding. To him culture was not a superorganic though substantive reality as it was to Tylor; instead he looked at culture from the functional point of view: 'What does culture do for man?' He showed that it liberates him from slavery to biological determinism; by providing him with 'artifacts', 'agrofacts', 'mentifacts' and 'socifacts' (i.e. culture), it enables man to satisfy his basic biological drives and engage in other pursuits as well. Culture enables man to secure his biological (personal) and social (collective) survival. Culture bestows upon man the gift of freedom.

Radcliffe-Brown evaluates the function of culture in terms of the contribution it makes, through its institutions, to the survival of society as a whole. Thus, the views of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, in spite of some differences, are based on pragmatism; they take the instrumental view of culture, and man, or man in society, as the end-aim for which this instrument is designed. Thus, their view of culture is not only instrumental but also humanistic; a close reproduction of John Dewey's naturalistic instrumental philosophy in the field of social science. When such a view is taken of culture, the central concept of anthropology, it becomes obvious that anthropology is applied anthropology, a humanity. One of its prime concerns is with human application. The concepts and methods of anthropology are designed to secure an understanding of that instrument called culture, the function of which is to secure human survival. Malinowski is quite explicit on this point; he says that all science begins with application.

But, the problem remained, 'How exactly, and in what form, was applied anthropology to make its contributions?' Raymond Firth envisaged the role of anthropology to be social engineering, after Westermann had modestly defined it to be the scientific collection and interpretation of cultural data. Firth pointed out the need to bring together primitive societies and civilization without letting the former suffer from disintegration. This task of bridging the gulf between the primitive and the modern was regarded by Firth as the legitimate task of applied anthropology and was called 'social engineering' by him. However, his ambitious scheme notwithstanding, Firth was deeply conscious of the fact that an anthropologist cannot do as much as he might in view of the fact that he cannot interfere in matters of policy. Therefore, Firth said, the anthropologist was more like a doctor who advises rather than like an engineer who builds. The scope of applied anthropology was thus defined to be one of diagnosis and prediction.

Even quite recently Kluckhohn has advised that it is better for the practical anthropologist to think of his role as that of the social doctor than that of the social engineer. Social medicine, not social engineering, is the proper field of applied anthropology. One of the main determinants of this view has been the unwillingness to evaluate what is good and what is not desirable. The philosophy of *culture pluralism,* standing for the relative goodness and adequacy of all cultures, has been an obstacle in the development of broad, universally valid historical judgments. Policy making, being based on judgments, has been held to be outside the anthropologist's field. Many years after Firth's refusal to interfere in matters of policy, Evans-Pritchard has endorsed the viewpoint that anthropologists cannot become policy-makers and still continue to be scientists.

This recent puritanism on the part of Evans-Pritchard is, however, in direct contrast to his earlier views, expressed in *Africa* (Vol. XVI, p. 92 ff.). Therein he expressed his inability to understand the objections that were being raised to an anthropologist taking part in policy making, considering that, in certain cases, where he has more knowledge than others and a better capacity to utilize it, he was likely to be the best person to do so. He pointed out that judgments are based on moral values and an anthropologist can and should evaluate in the light of such values in situations which require ethical judgments. Within the field of his inquiry, no anthropologist may introduce his personal philosophy, but, Evans-Pritchard rightly maintained, in the field of policy making and administration there was no reason why he should not act as others do, i.e. judge and evaluate.

The whole discussion on the scope of applied anthropology has been given a positively vigorous direction by Nadel in his analysis of the relation of anthropology to modern life, which he regards to be a significant one. Nadel says that this significant 'relation' does not concern our interest in exotic primitive and prehistoric societies, but our own problems in our own times. Anthropology has to provide a sound administration of colonial or dependent peoples; it can also broaden our outlook by enlightening us on the variety of human cultures; and it can reveal cultures as various solutions of universal problems.

Nadel points out that the findings of an anthropologist may be misused, as has been done by the South African government in justification of its policy of racial discrimination. Nadel says that, like all other scientists, anthropologists also must shoulder the moral responsibility of preventing governments from misusing their findings. This cannot be done if anthropologists rest content merely with supplying facts to others.

'Purists' have advocated withdrawal from applied research, but Nadel is vehemently opposed to such a negative approach. He maintains that, since anthropological knowledge can be applied, there is no reason why anthropologists should not do so; and do so not as ordinary technicians but as the people who judge and decide upon matters of policy. Nadel is not modest and regards social engineering, and not merely passive diagnosis and prediction, as the proper scope of applied anthropology.

Nadel further points out that the judgments which a policy-making anthropologist would pronounce would not lie anywhere outside his legitimate field of inquiry. The decision to study social phenomena, he maintains, remains incomplete without evaluating them, i.e. the decision to study social phenomena *entails* the further decision to evaluate them. When we analyse a society we must assess its capacity to achieve stability and continuity, and to function smoothly, adequately and in an integrated fashion.

To sum up, there ought to be no disagreement on the point that anthropology, being a humanity, has to justify itself as an applied science. The opposition between pure and applied research is, in the ultimate analysis, bound to vanish in the study of human problems and their solutions.

In India, applied anthropology has an immense future. The policy of internal reconstruction on social and economic fronts requires the contribution of anthropologists, although as yet the administration in this country seems to put more reliance on social workers than on social scientists. Anthropologists are perhaps the only qualified people who can help the governments, Union and State, to frame a policy of tribal rehabilitation. Though on a surface-view the problems of the tribal communities appear similar and simple, an anthropologist discerns underneath a complex variety of problems which demand a variety of regional policies. Likewise, in assessing the impact of community projects on rural life and in popularizing planning, anthropologists can play a vital role.

Social scientists, social workers and administrators, have all alike fallen back upon and used the Tribes and Castes Series written by government civil servants about the beginning of the present century. But it has been lately discovered that not only are these monographs out of date but also that they are unrepresentative of the tribes and castes they portray, a drawback which people with zeal and goodwill, but lacking scientific training, could obviously not overcome. The rewriting of the Tribes and Castes Series is a task which only anthropologists can do well. Anthropologists can also be helped in undertaking the study of generalized value-attitude systems, a knowledge of which could go a long way in evolving the best modes of checking the alarming population growth which threatens to upset all our planning and development schemes.

Anthropologists have, on their own, made studies of growth, malnutrition, juvenile delinquency, labour unrest, industrial and rural life and so on, but without government aid not much can be achieved on a national scale.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boas, F., *Anthropology and Modern Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1928).

Brown, G., and B. Hutt, *Anthropology in Action* (Oxford, 1935).

Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *Social Anthropology*.

Firth, R., *Human Types* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1938), Chapter VII.

Herskovits, M. J., *Man and His Works*, Chapter 38.

Kroeber, A. L. (ed.), *Anthropology Today*, Selected chapters.

Kluckhohn, C., *Mirror For Man* (London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1950).
Linton, R. (ed.), *The Science of Man in World Crisis* (Columbia University Press, 1945).
Majumdar, D. N., *Races and Cultures of India* (Lucknow: Universal Publishers Ltd., 1951), Chapter XVI.
Nadel, S. F., *Anthropology and Modern Life* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1953).
Smith, E. W., *The Golden Stool* (Edinburgh House Press, 1930).
Spicer, E. H. (ed.), *Human Problems in Technological Change* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952).

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY

Some primitive families: the Kharia, the Ho and the Khasi. The reasons underlying the universal existence of family. Family as a functional unit. Family as an association: various types of families; sib and gotra. *Distinctive features of family. Family as a process. Historical origins of family: Morgan's evolutionary scheme, Westermarck's extremist interpretation of the evolution of family, and Briffault's criticism; the functional theories. Residence and descent. Family in the West, among Indian tribes, Hindus and Muslims.*

SOME PRIMITIVE FAMILIES

THE KHARIA. In various hill-ranges of Orissa, lying adjacent to Chota Nagpur, and in Chota Nagpur itself live various tribal folk, one of the tribes being that of the Kharia. Among the Kharia, the elementary unit of society is the family, consisting of parents and their children, own or adopted. It also includes a son-in-law in cases where a person chooses to have one at home (*ghar jamain*) in the absence of a male issue. The father is the central figure in the family: all authority is vested in him and lineage or descent are traced through him. All property belongs to him and his sons. Distant relations are rarely included in the narrow-range Kharia family. In some sections of the tribe, one's grand-parents and uncles, cousins and nephews also live in one's own family-house. But generally this is not the case as most young men set up their own houses (huts) after marriage. This is invariably true about the Hill Kharia. A wife lives always in her husband's house, and visits her parental home only occasionally. The Kharia family is based on monogamous marriage. Polygamy is not, however, completely unknown.

The maternal uncle enjoys a special position in the life of the Kharia. This, it has been suggested, may possibly be a survival from a former state of matriliny, as, in the matrilineal family, the mother who lives with her brothers or parents, is formally represented by her eldest brother, who also acts as the guardian of her children.

As elsewhere, so among the Kharia, the family provides for the satisfaction of the fundamental bio-psychic drives of hunger and sex, and makes it possible to perpetuate the species through reproduction and the social heritage through the handing down of traditions from generation to generation. The Kharia family is an economic grouping: it provides food, shelter and clothing for its members, irrespective of their contribution towards the economic activity. The function of preserving language, customs, mores and folkways is performed in co-operation with other groups like the clan. The family regulates marital relations between the sexes and the instruction of the young.

Husband and wife both contribute to the maintenance of the family, but there is division of labour based on sex between them. Thus, the husband goes out for hunting game and fishing, whereas the wife collects fruits, tubers and edible herbs.

Houses are built, constructed and repaired by men, and women maintain them. The women also draw water and cook food. Domestic animals are looked after by men but children are the responsibility of women. Women are prevented from taking part in any agricultural activity. Nonetheless, they are not ill-treated. In spite of the overruling role of the husband, wives play important, responsible and independent roles, particularly in the running of the home, which includes child rearing.

Kharia women are subjected to certain taboos and, consequently, prevented from taking part in religious performances. This is not indicative of any inferior status within the family but of the superstitious fear of menstruation widespread among the tribal and folk societies of the world. A Kharia woman is entitled to the ownership of her personal effects like dress and ornaments and articles made or acquired by her personally.

Children are an important part of each family. They are treated with kindness and indulgence, irrespective of their sex. They are given instruction verbally at home by their mothers. When they are grown up enough to do such wholesome and light jobs as tending cattle and sheep, they pass under the tutelage of their fathers.

The Ho. This tribe lives in Singhbhum, in Bihar, and in adjacent districts. The main concentration of the Ho is in Kolhan, a government estate, which is administered by the district magistrate through the heads of the tribal organization. Among them, the family and the wider unit, *killi* (clan), are interdependent from the compositional and functional points of view. But there is a definite division of labour between the *killi* and the family, and within the family. Production of food is still a corporate responsibility of the extended family, but after food is distributed among the individual families, it is the function of the latter to see that the food is economically used. The children belong to the family, but their education and training are matters which must be decided by the wider family group or the *killi.* An individual may violate an established usage or taboo, but the wider family group has to account for it, and it ensures the compliance of the member concerned with the punishment meted out by the *killi panch*. Illness in the family is primarily a private matter, but the wider family group, or the *killi,* has the right to take any action necessary to prevent recurrence of the same. The worship of gods and spirits is done on a communal basis, as for example when the entire *killi* performs sacrifices and observes feasts and festivals, but the individual family has its own obligations in the matter; it has to make contributions in cash and kind. Besides, there is the practice of family worship. Most of the relations between a family and the *killi* are based on mutual reciprocity. Marriage, death and festivals among the Ho are apparently communal affairs, as the rites and ceremonies connected with them are performed by the whole *killi.* The reciprocity of relations has been finely developed in the case of marriage, where part of the bride price to be paid by a family is contributed by the entire village.

The Ho family consists generally of a man, his wife and their children, but sometimes it follows the Hindu joint-family pattern, consisting of a group of brothers or agnates, their spouses and children. A large number of unmarried girls are associated with the family, on account of the high bride price which makes it difficult for parents to marry them off easily.

The Khasi. They live in the Khasi and Jaintia Hill districts of Assam. They are famous all over the world as the best example extant today of a society which is nearest to being a matriarchy.

The Khasi tribes trace their descent from mythical female ancestresses. In a family are to be found a mother, her unmarried children, male and female, her husband, her married daughters and their husbands. The Khasi are matrilocal at the time of marriage, but later on, when a husband shows evidence of his ability to support himself, his wife and children, he may set up an independent household of his own. This is a condition which has been very probably the effect of contacts with, and in the case of many people conversion to, Christianity. A family may include an adopted daughter if all females have died out.

In the matrilocal family, all the earnings of males and females are owned jointly and administered by the head woman. According to the traditional law, men have no individual right to ownership, whether they are husbands or sons. Property is inherited by women from women.

Khasi family life is woven into religious ritual and ceremonial. Since brothers and sons will migrate to their wives' homes and since husbands are aliens, men have no role to play in these rituals and ceremonies. The Khasi say that it is the youngest daughter who 'holds' the religion, and, therefore, gets the major share of parental property. The absence of a daughter has, therefore, to be filled in through adoption. Women enjoy high status and power. The economic life of the Khasi is, therefore, characterised by division of labour based on sex. Thus, agriculture is carried on mostly by males and weaving by females. However, both sexes may earn money as porters.

Whereas the Khasi family grows round a nucleus of consanguineous females who are surrounded by a fringe of males —unmarried brothers and sons, fathers and husbands—and whereas property, authority, religion, residence, are all in the hands of women, men-folk also are respected and even exercise some authority. The all-powerful Khasi woman addresses her husband as her lord.

Having given examples of what a family is, we now proceed to its theoretical consideration, illustrated by more examples.

THE ROOTS OF THE FAMILY

The fact that man is a member of a biological species implies that there are certain deterministic conditions imposed upon his life. Human nature has been defined as the inevitability of having to breathe, eat and drink, sleep, procreate and eliminate waste matter from inside the human body. Whereas some of these functions, the first and (to some extent) the last, can be performed individually, the others cannot be so performed, but only when men organize themselves into a cooperative group. Speaking from the point of view of physical endowments, man is not well-equipped with the same. However, he has the gift of a highly developed brain which enables him to engage in organized behaviour to exploit and harness nature. The groupings that come thus into existence may have for their immediate cause and binding force several principles of integration; the simplest and most obvious of these is the principle of kinship, that is, relationship between different members of a family based on marriage and on descent. This relationship is of a three-fold nature: that between husband and wife; that between parents and children; and that between siblings (children of the same parents). The second and the third relationships need not necessarily be blood-ties as children are often adopted. The implication is that family is not to be defined solely with reference to man's biological nature. More about this later.

THE FAMILY AS A FUNCTIONAL UNIT

From the composition of and the principles of integration underlying the family, it is obvious that it is a functional unit. It grows out of biological needs, particularly those of the expectant mother and the infant child, who cannot support and live by themselves. Another contributory cause is the need for the exploitation of environment which is essential to permit the satisfaction of the more intimate biological needs; and this exploitation cannot take place without organized co-activity.

For a healthy and satisfactory living man seeks a secure satisfaction of his biological drives. By cooperating with other members of his family, and dividing work with them, he is able to satisfy his own basic need for food, and also make some contribution to the similar satisfaction of those other members who are cooperating with him. Thus, when a member of the Kadar tribe, of Cochin, joins his family members in the search for edible fruits and roots, he helps in the satisfaction of the hunger of the group as a whole of which he is a member. The same cooperation obtains, and for the same reasons, when he joins in other economic activities. Thus, we find that the family as an economic unit has a personal and a collective aspect. It provides for the personal satisfactions of the individual. Collectively it does the same for the family, and besides, provides the unit for the total economic pattern of the tribe or the nation. Thus, a Kadar family, as a group, provides food for its members and also becomes a unit of the Kadar food-gathering economy.

Similarly, when we look upon the family as the means of regular and channelized sex-satisfaction, the two-fold aspect is again visible. By providing for mating, the family as an institution (that is, as a mode of rendering service) makes it possible for the individual's sex urge to be satisfied. But this primary satisfaction often leads to a fuller, though slightly impersonal satisfaction; cohabitation leads to conception and children are born, not only satisfying the psychic instincts of parental love and solicitude but also leading to the socially very significant fact of the perpetuation of the group and the species.

Every great association of people, it may be a state, a nation, or a tribe, has its own distinctive culture, its modes of living and thought, which are developed as a response to the peculiar circumstances of the environment, natural and, alongside of it, ideological. The family is the agency through which the impressionable rising generation is made familiar with such traditions. The purpose is, once again, two-fold. By teaching the individual what situations to anticipate, how to behave and what behaviour to expect, by giving him the gifts of language and dress which integrate him within his cultural ethos, the family provides a personal satisfaction; it facilitates adjustment to people and groups outside the family circle.

Even if a society does not impart the lessons mentioned above in any organized manner, still the pattern which its family life exhibits inculcates certain kinds of behaviour responses and thinking- and feeling-patterns typical of the society and its culture. Thus, transmission of the cultural traditions proceeds from generation to generation, and thereby takes place the preservation of the individual by his being spared various stresses and strains of adjustment, and also of the culture by its transmission to the next generation being ensured and its extinction precluded.

The family thus acts simultaneously as an educative unit and a socio-cultural agency. The importance of this aspect of the family lies in the fact that whereas all children everywhere get their earliest instruction in the family, instruction in such elementary, but supremely important, things as language for instance; in the case of most of the world's children, the rest of the education also takes place within the family, and not in any other institutional setting. Thus, all over tribal India, barring tribes like the Naga and certain Middle Indian tribes like the Munda, the Oraon, and the majority of the Gond, who have the dormitary institution, which might be regarded as an institution for imparting education, no deliberately initiated institution for such purposes is found to exist under tribal ways of living.

THE FAMILY AS AN ASSOCIATION

There are two ways of looking at the family. It can be regarded and studied as one of the universal and permanent institutions of mankind, that is, as a functional unit, and it is as such that it has been examined above. There is yet another way of studying the family, that of regarding it as a group, or a deliberately formed association. Such an approach would study the form and the content of the family, i.e. its character and composition, as also its variations from time to time and place to place.

It has been pointed out already that the family has a biological matrix; it is the expectant mother and the infant who require familial protection most. However, it is never the mother and the infants alone who constitute a family; there are always the mother's mate and their children, who complete the initial membership. This basic grouping, of the mates and their children, has been called by such various names as the *nuclear,* the *immediate* or the *primary family.* The implication of all these terms is, however, the same, viz. that the nucleus of all types of families consists of those individuals who are bound together by a procreative urge and grouped with their children into a protective-cum-productive association.

If this nucleus is extended, as it very often is, by the addition of other closely related kin, then it is called an *extended family.* Extended families are of various types. Firstly, there are those which grow mainly round the nucleus, and secondly there are those which are extended still further, by extending the principle of kinship, like in the Hindu *joint family.*

If a nucleus of blood relatives is surrounded by a fringe of spouses, the resultant grouping is called a *consanguineous family.* It consists of members related by birth, and individual choice does not operate. Consequently, it is more stable. Maturation of children or break up of the marriage bond does not destroy the consanguineous family. Owing to marriage between close relatives being universally ruled out, the consanguineous family can meet any demand of its members except that for sexual gratification; and it is this fact that necessitates the fringe of spouses. Thus, we find that the emphasis is on the blood relationship and not the marriage bond. The Nayar of Malabar are said to have had a family of this type till the earlier years of this century. They did not grant any social recognition at all to the husband, nor even to the father for that matter.

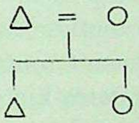
The type of family that we are more familiar with in our own society, viz. that in which there is a nucleus of spouses and their offspring surrounded by a fringe of relatives is called a *conjugal family*, and is found among many tribes like, e.g., the Kharia. The emphasis here is on the conjugal bond, and, therefore, this type of family is not stable among such people who do not hold this bond as indissoluble. Such a type of family also posits a dynamics in family membership in so far as everybody changes his/her allegiance to the family in which he/she was born when he/she gets married. There may be, however, an immense difference in the degree of this change. Thus, under conditions of patrilocal existence, the in-coming wife would almost completely break away from her family of birth, whereas the husband would not.

The family in which one is born is called the *family of origin* or *orientation*, and the family which one helps to set up after one's marriage is called the *family of procreation*.

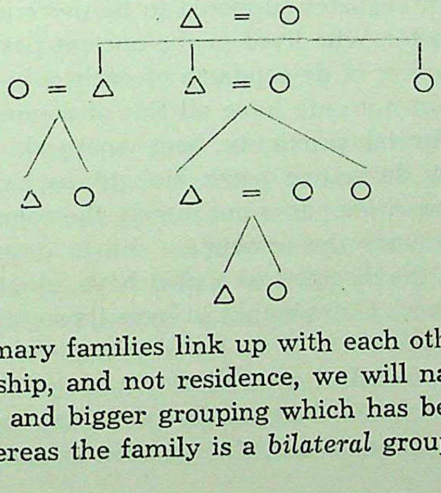
There can also be other types of extension to permit the inclusion of all those people whom it may not be possible to include in the primary family. Thus, we have *polygynous families* where a man marries more than one wife, a condition of marital arrangements common all over tribal India. Or, there are *polyandrous families* in which the husbands are more than one, as for instance among the Khasa of Jaunsar Bawar, U. P., where several brothers marry one wife without any exclusive right of cohabitation for any one spouse. An interesting case would be the combination of the above two principles of organization; and the Toda have recently developed such a family, based on group marriage.

Next, there is the *joint family*, so very prevalent in India, hedged in and sanctioned by tradition, history, pseudo-history, myths and religion. It is a collection of more than one primary family, on the basis of close blood ties and common residence. Consequently, there can be two types, the *matrilocal joint family* like that of the Nayar and the *patrilocal joint family* like that of the tribes in Central India and all Hindus. In both these types of family, the offspring (female in case of the matrilocal type and male in case of the patrilocal type) do not, as a general rule, leave their families of origin on their marriage. So, we find that joint families are an amalgam of what might have otherwise been several families of origin and procreation. Such members of a joint family as do have to leave their family of origin on marriage (the daughters in a patrilocal joint family, and the sons in a matrilocal joint family) may not lose completely the membership of their original families, thus bringing about a dual membership. The nuclear and the extended families may be diagramatically represented thus:

Nuclear Family



Extended Family



When primary families link up with each other only on the basis of kinship, and not residence, we will naturally have a much wider and bigger grouping which has been called *clan*, or *sib*. Whereas the family is a *bilateral* grouping in spite of frequent one-sided emphasis, the sib is *unilateral.* Thus there can be either *mother sibs* or *father sibs.* In the former, descent is reckoned through the female line, and in the latter through the male line. There being no restrictions of a common residence, or even territory in some cases, the sib group is much wider than the family, alongside of which it is often found. Sibs are generally exogamous; and, therefore, a family contains members of several sibs.

Sibs being as wide and extended as they are, actual recording is not possible, and often mythical ancestors are invented.

When several sibs or clans combine to constitute a still wider grouping, it is called a *phratry.* If sibs are, however, sub-divided into groups with known historical ancestors, they are called *lineages.* The Toda have their social life structured on the basis of sibs. Theirs is a *dual organisation,* and the tribe as a whole is divided into two phratries, Teivaliol and Tartharol. Each of these two phratries is further sub-divided into father sibs. The family as a bilateral grouping is, however, present in both the Toda as well as the Khasi social structures, the latter being based on mother sibs. Thus the primary and the extended families are not mutually exclusive.

Similar to the sib is the *gotra* kin group as it is found among the Hindus all over India, and in a modified form, as a result of culture contact, among tribal people, like the Baiga for instance who call it *got.* In practice, a *gotra* consists of a large number of cognates supposed to be descended from the same *rishi*-ancestor, who lived in the ancient past. In course of time the number of descendants of each *rishi*-ancestor has increased so that not only have all ties of common residence and even territorial proximity been snapped, but a large number of new derivative *gotra* kin groups has sprung up named after new *rishis.* It is not merely the cognate relationship that determines the association into a *gotra,* but there are cases when the disciples of a *rishi* have adopted the *gotra* of their preceptor. *Gotra* comes to have its social significance in so far as the members of the same *gotra,* even if they have never known or heard of each other nor are related by blood, cannot intermarry. So long as the *gotra* was regarded as a group of consanguineous kin, the question of marriage within the *gotra* did not arise. But today we find that each *gotra* consists of a large number of culturally heterogeneous people, among whom there are no traces of historical links. It has, therefore, become imperative to advocate a relaxing of *gotra* restrictions on marriage.

In the foregoing pages, the family has been viewed from the functional and the compositional points of view, leading up to a classification mainly from the compositional or structural point of view. However, the form and structure of a family is not determined only by the type and number of people who are its members, but also by how the spouses are, in the beginning, recruited. Thus, families have been classified as *monogamous, polygynous, polyandrous,* and as based on group marriage, besides, of course, as primary (or, single) and extended (or, joint) from these various points of view. From the point of view of authority, a family may be classified either as *patripotestal,* or *matripotestal,* or *avuncupotestal.* The mode of inheritance of family name and property, of reckoning of descent and succession to rank and office may lead to a two-fold classification of *patrilineal* and *matrilineal* families. Finally, a residential classification into *patrilocal, matrilocal* and *avunculocal* is also possible. (Further explanation will follow in this chapter and the next one.)

We are now in a position to make a list of the broad characteristics of the family.

Distinctive Features of the Family

The family is, in the first instance, characterised by some form of institutionalised mating, i.e. some type of marriage. Secondly, there is some mode of reckoning descent by having a nomenclature. Thirdly, a family is an economic unit, particularly so far as the mother and the infant are concerned. Finally, a family is always associated with a common habitation for all its members.

The family, a grouping as outlined above, has the following distinctive features, as listed, and elaborated, by MacIver.

1. *Universality.* In view of the fact that all the aspects of

an individual's life, ranging from deterministic biological to deterministic cultural, are considerably influenced and made possible by the family grouping, family is found all over the world and at all levels of culture. Besides, there is no conclusive or convincing evidence that there ever was a time when the family did not exist. Modern civilization has not so far succeeded in providing a complete and fully satisfying substitute for this grouping. The scope for compositional variation has in the past often clouded the presence of the family in various so-called primitive societies, but its absence has never been proved.

2. *Emotional basis.* The integrative bonds in a family are mutual affection and blood ties. The cords that tie together the members of a family are the outcome of such an emotional factor as love, and not an intellectual factor like reason. This emotional basis of the family makes it ideally suited to perform the all-important role of early education, which makes it an institution of considerable importance as a transmitter of culture.

3. *Educative role.* The most plastic years of every individual's life, that is, his childhood, are spent in his family. It is here that he gets the earliest and the most fundamental lessons in socialization. He is mentally formed according to the norms of society, which get ingrained in him to re-appear in his adult life as conscience or super-ego. The cultural traditions that are imbibed by an individual are imbibed by him in the familial setting, making the formative influence of the family supreme. Speaking from a limited point of view, his family also exerts a formative influence on the biological growth of the individual by making available particular and defined types of basic satisfactions to meet the basic needs in such matters as metabolism, safety, growth and so on.

4. *Limited size.* The family, throughout the world, is characterized by its precision as compared to other types of groupings, like the sib or clan for instance.

5. *Nuclear position.* With regard to all the different types of groupings, the family plays an important role in so far as it prepares the individual for participation in all these secondary groups, for their demands and situations. It serves as

the nucleus for the growth of other types of groupings which never deal with the cultureless creature that a newly-born child is.

6. *Sense of responsibility among members.* Even though emotions and feelings are the main basis of family life, it is not completely devoid of reason. A sense of responsibility among its members in relation to each other is an aspect which is more rational and reasoned than emotional and instinctive. This feeling of personal responsibility towards each other is very important to ensure the smooth working of the familial grouping, and, consequently, of society as a whole; and, therefore, we find society stepping in to ensure it through customs and mores.

7. *Social regulation.* Society, that is the collectivity, keeping the collective and wider view in mind, has to ensure, by evolving mores and folkways, that the individual members in a family do perform all those functions towards each other on the basis of which the wider network of social relationships is dependent for its success. Thus, for example, there are social restrictions on divorce varying in intensity, in almost every society.

8. *Persistence and change.* Whereas the family as an institution is the most permanent and universal one in human societies, as an association it is subject to constant change in composition and structure, even within the same society. Time runs parallel to the family considered as an institution, but gets intimately involved in it when it is looked at as an association.

THE FAMILY AS A PROCESS

The family has been viewed, not only as a permanent functional institution and an ever-active affective association, but also as a process. The process called the family can be divided into three or four well-defined stages on the basis of data available to us in India. In the first instance, we have the *formative* stage, when the individual as a growing child is prepared for his adulthood roles as a responsible member of society. Then follows the *nuptial* stage among most of the rural and urban groups, particularly in the former, child marriage having been a very distinctive feature of the Indian rural social structure. Tribal societies in India correspond to modern Western society in having a *pre-nuptial* stage after the formative and before the nuptial stages. This pre-nuptial stage among the Middle-Indian and some Naga tribes is spent in mono- or bi-sexual dormitories and in taking training in all the activities of adulthood, including those pertaining to sex. During this stage, it has been found, among the Muria Gond and the Konyak Naga for instance, that liaisons develop and attachments are formed which are consummated after the ceremonial function of marriage has taken place. Among the rural and urban sections of the people, where marriages are parent-arranged and no courtship takes place, no such pre-nuptial stage exists.

After marriage come the children, i.e. the *post-nuptial* stage. Speaking from the point of view of society at large, this stage is the most significant. As the growing generation of children come of age, they set the same process going again. Thus, the family is an ever-continuing process, on the smooth continuity of which depends the continuity of society itself.

ORIGINS OF THE FAMILY

Much anthropological research and speculation has gone into examining the historical origins of the family. It seems that the student of social sciences these days is not much interested in the question of origins, but the earlier stage of the modern phase of anthropological studies was highly historical-minded, being dominated by the evolutionary doctrines of Darwin and Spencer. Evolution was conceived of as a simple process of unilinear development, and the beginnings of social institutions were often presumed to be the reverse of the contemporary west-European forms of these institutions, even though there was no sanction of a fully established biological analogy for such an attitude.

Basing himself on such evidence as licence on festive occasions, exchange of wives, lending of wives, and the use of the same kinship term, like father, for several individuals, Lewis Morgan came to the conclusion that the family was unknown among the simplest and the rudest of peoples. His picture of primitive society was one of atomistic existence, the only form of groupings existent being sibs. He further held that due to free sex relations and ignorance of the role of paternity, fathers were unimportant, and mother-sibs were the earliest groupings.

Morgan's evolutionary scheme has no more than an historical interest now. It has already been indicated above that the family, as an association, permits for so much variation of form that the unwary or a biased student may fail to see it. Morgan's premises were correct, but by no means universal. Besides, his deductions are more logical and academic than actual and historical. Morgan has postulated a sequential growth of the institution of the family. Since his time it has been stressed often that in view of the accepted fact of diffusion, such rigidly sequential and unilinear evolution of institutions is not an acceptable proposition.

Morgan listed five different and successive forms of family, each being associated with a corresponding and distinctive type of marriage. They were, in succession, as follows:

1. The *consanguine* family, consisted of a group which was founded upon the intermarriage, in a group, of siblings, own and collateral, i.e. of brothers and sisters and of cousins.

2. The *Punaluan* family was founded upon the intermarriage of several sisters, own and collateral, with each other's husbands in a group. The joint husbands were not necessarily related to each other. Such a family was also founded upon the intermarriage of several brothers, own and collateral, with each other's wives, in a group, these wives not being necessarily related to each other. However, in actual practice, the husbands as a group, and the wives as a group, must have been kin of each other. In each case, one group was conjointly married to another such group of members of the opposite sex.

3. The *Syndyasmian* or pairing family was founded upon marriage between single pairs, without giving the right of

exclusive cohabitation to any person over another. Consequently such a marriage continued during the pleasure of the parties.

4. The *patriarchal* family was founded upon the marriage of one man with several wives, each wife being secluded from every other.

5. The *monogamian* family was founded upon marriage between single pairs, with the married couple having exclusive cohabitation with one another.

Alongside of this classification, Lewis Morgan posited different systems of consanguinity in ancient and modern societies.

The first significant denial of Morgan's scheme, and its basis particularly, came from Westermarck. He, on the basis of a detailed study of the institution of marriage, concluded that the family was the outcome of male possessiveness and jealousy, and a growth in property and of the sense of property. So, man, and not woman, becomes the central figure in the scheme of development here. However, it is also true that Morgan also dated the origin of the family only after man's role in begetting children became known, and the right of passing property to his own, rather than to his sister's or mother's children, had been recognized and accepted.

Westermarck's scheme was also characterized by the evolutionary attitude to the growth of institutions; and he carried it to extreme limits. He traced monogamy back to mammals and birds, and opined that man had inherited it from the earlier stages of the ladder of evolution. Any further evolution which had taken place was essentially in the moral ideas evolved by man with regard to marriage and not in the institution itself. The rigidity of these views strikes at their own roots.

Briffault went back to Morganian inspiration and rejected Westermarck's views as unacceptable. He roots the institution of the family in yet another institution, viz. the *mother-right,* that is, the supreme authority of the mothers. The patriarchal and monogamian families are regarded by him as later in point of time and development.

Modern students of the subject have not concerned themselves with this tricky problem of origins, not because the failures of the earlier writers discouraged them, nor because the historical approach has been completely displaced, but because of what has been regarded by some as its relative futility and uselessness. Data collected by conscientious investigators from all parts of the globe, and at all levels of culture, have borne evidence to the existence of the family. Prehistoric reconstructions have not yielded any positive evidence of importance to the contrary as yet. The classical anthropologists made much of the primitiveness of the Australian aborigines, but it is fully accepted now that the Andaman Islanders are even more primitive, and these as well as the Australian aborigines do have the family as a vital and socially significant grouping. Within the subcontinent of India, the most backward, materially and socially, of tribes like the Kadar, the Paniyan, the Malapantaram, the Chenchu, the Birhor and so on do have the familial organisation. Sibs, which were assigned by Morgan to the crudest level, have been found to have developed among tribes which live on some kind of agriculture. The rudest of primitive tribes like the Andaman Islanders and the Kadar do not have sibs, whereas among more developed tribes, like the Toda and the Khasi, sibs represent an elaborate organization.

The family is based on simple and obvious facts. It involves the recognition of just those who are closely related to one's self through constant physical contiguity, physical cooperation, emotional bonds, and blood ties. It does not involve complicated differentiation or selection as, for instance, the sib does. In view of the basic deterministic drives, the satisfaction of which only a grouping like the family makes possible and must have in the past made possible, the conclusion is apparent, viz. that the family must have been always existent, coeval with human-culture. It is, however, quite understandable that it must have developed in varying contexts and, therefore, acquired varied forms. The sex and hunger urges, the economic compulsives, and the cultural traditions have everywhere provided the theoretical justification for the recognition of the existence of the family. As soon as there is some permanency in sex relations and cooperative economic endeavour, a family comes automatically into existence. The birth of offspring cements and integrates family life. It can, however, never be overemphasized that although the family is our response to the challenges of our bio-psychical, natural and environmental setting, yet it is universally conditioned by the local cultural traditions. And it is this fact of varying cultural conditioning that seems to have deceived the earlier students of this institution. What is more, even if there may be a single pattern of familial organisation in a society, in practice several variant forms may emerge. This is why several types of familial groupings are found within the same social-cultural milieu.

RESIDENCE AND DESCENT

The family, we have said, is a bilateral grouping. But it has been observed that there has always been, of necessity, some stressing of one side to the partial neglect of the other. Thus, for instance, the married couple and their offspring cannot live simultaneously in the houses (families) of origin of both the husband as well as the wife. Similarly though not for similarly obvious and compelling reasons, we find that property inheritance, descent and succession are often traced through only one of the lines. When the married couple and their offspring put up with the husband's family, or in a new household which he sets up on his own, the situation is described as a *patrilocal* residence. The reverse of this would be *matrilocal* residence. When property inheritance and reckoning of descent takes place along the male or female line it is called *patrilineal* or *matrilineal* inheritance respectively. If the offspring inherit the father's name, they will be described as *patronymic*, and if the mother's then *matronymic*.

Among the Oraon, Ho and Kharia tribes, for example, the residence is patrilocal and descent is traced through the male line. Among the Oraon we find the father exercising supreme authority. The Khasi are matrilocal, though very often only temporarily so. Descent is traced through the female line, and property is inherited from mother to daughter. These rules vary considerably from tribe to tribe in India. Some interesting examples can be cited from the Kadar culture. Since names refer to personal qualities, there is no inheritance of the same. Property is inherited from the father as also from the maternal uncle. The eldest son may get no share in this inheritance because he may be already earning his own living. The Khasa, though polyandrous, are patrilocal and patrilineal.

THE FAMILY IN THE EAST AND THE WEST

Contemporary Western Society is characterized, among other things, by the declining importance of all primary groups, including the family, and their supersession by secondary groups. Most of those functions which the family used to satisfy are now fulfilled by various commercial and state-operated institutions like creches, kindergartens, schools, trade unions, clubs, hotels, and restaurants. The disintegration of the family has been hastened by freer sex relations made possible by changing notions about morals and by birth control techniques. With the decline of religion, the religious sanctions behind family and marriage have also vanished, making dissolution easier to obtain. The changed notions about the status and role of women have also aided this break up. Individualism is the basis of all contemporary Western culture. Individual happiness is often possible only at the cost of the family as a whole. Divorce, looked at from the individual's viewpoint, is a safety valve which prevents strains and saves an individual's happiness.

Many contemporary sociologists attribute most of the social and personal neuroses of Western Society to this fact of the disintegration of the family. The emotional basis of the family, where love, sharing and solidarity are the main drives behind the adult's role as the teacher and the preceptor, spares the learning child all unnecessary strains and anxieties, thereby laying solid foundations for fully integrated and secure personality structures. The secure, emotion-laden atmosphere of the home has no substitute whatever. The decline in the importance of the family has meant the growth of individualism and the decline of social responsibilities. Self-seeking is becoming dominant over social and collective interests.

In totalitarian societies it is the state and not individualism which is threatening the family with the deprivation of its educative and other roles *vis-à-vis* the child. In no society except the Chinese, in which the teachings of Confucius and Lao Tse have reigned supreme over all these centuries, besides, but to a lesser extent, the Indian, has the family been held up as the ideal grouping. Recent tidings from China, however, indicate a drive against these teachings as they are becoming obstacles in the path of the sweeping changes that are under way in the socio-economic structure.

In India, among the tribal communities, no single pattern exists. The Naga in the east are monogamous or polygynous, patriarchal, and patrilineal—a pattern different from the neighbouring matriarchal Khasi tribe or the Nayar society. The Toda, the Kadar and the Khasa seem to belong to a combined maternal-paternal complex. The tribes of Middle India are mostly characterized by strong male influence.

A uniform familial pattern is, however, exhibited by Hindu Society. The family to a Hindu is a sacred institution, deriving sanction from religion and hoary social traditions and hedged in by all sorts of pseudo-history, myths and legends. Those, and they are millions, who are familiar with the tremendous popularity of the epic *Ramayana,* the story of Rama's filial love and obedience, of Sita's wifely love and devotion, and Lakshmana's loyalty to his brother, and even the unbounded love of the ape-man servant for his human master, cannot minimise the influence such myths and legends have had in shaping and preserving the social organisation of Hindu society. The Hindu family is extended, and of the type described above as 'joint'. The father's authority reigns supreme. Residence is patrilocal. Property and name pass from father to son. Descent is reckoned along the male line. Whatever the heights of glorification to which the epics and the myths raise woman, in actual practice she often enjoys no comfort or status, being generally a drudge and an appendage of the husband, particularly so among the semi-urbanised lower middle classes. At the rural end, women enjoy a high degree of power and independence, although the males dominate, giving no share in property to females. At the urban end, there is to be witnessed both the gradual emancipation of women, leading to their being engaged in more kinds of satisfying and socially utilitarian pursuits, as also the sorry spectacle of the imitation of the manners of Western Society, to what purpose, one cannot say. Marriage under Hindu Law is indissoluble, being in the nature of a permanent, sacramental bond.

For quite a few decades it has been felt that the laws laid down by the *Dharmasastras* regarding the family life of the Hindu require to be modified in the light of the demands of contemporary social life and change. The need for relaxing the rule of *gotra* exogamy has been already pointed out. After 1950, when the new Constitution became operative, India's legislators have been debating a Hindu Code Bill which has provoked much controversy, support and condemnation, making it imperative to split it up into piecemeal legislation. The main purposes of this Bill are to permit divorce and registration of marriage in harmony with ritual ceremonial, and also to provide for the inheritance of property by daughters. Various consequent issues like the religious and secular status of children born in inter-religious marriages, without the parents having to change their religious loyalties, have yet to be worked out. Widow remarriage is already accepted as a desired innovation by a majority of the Hindus of India. Widow marriage was legalised as far back as 1856 due to the pioneering efforts of social reformers like Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar.

The Muslims of India also present a more or less uniform family pattern which is the outcome of interaction between Islamic law and Hindu influence. It is a well-known fact that Muslims, particularly the Shia community, have developed a caste structure in India. The Muslim family is, like the Hindu family, patronymic and patrilocal. The eldest male runs the family and women, who generally observe *pardah,* do the domestic work. Property is not held jointly, as among the Hindus, and is inherited according to a very elaborate code which takes even fractions into account. The total result of the inheritance laws gives them a strong patrilineal character. Adoption is not regarded as giving the adopted any right to inheritance. The Muslim family is extended like that of the Hindus but may not consist of all the relatively distant kin which find their place in a Hindu joint family.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Linton, R., *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), Chapter X.

Lowie, R., *Primitive Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1921), Chapter IV.

MacIver, R. M., C. H. Page, *Society* (London: Macmillan, 1953), Chapter XI.

Morgan L. H., *Ancient Society* (New York, 1877).

Murdock, G. P., *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), Chapters I and II.

Prabhu, Pandhari-Nath, *Hindu Social Organization* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1954), Chapter VI.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the Kharia, the Ho, and the Khasi. History of human marriage. The reasons underlying marriage; and its nature. Various forms of marriage: exogamy, and endogamy; cross-cousin marriage; levirate and sororate; polygamy; hypergamy. Ways of acquiring a mate; inheritance of widows. Sex relations before and outside marriage. Divorce. Children. Marriage among the Hindu and the Muslim societies.

HOW THEY DO IT

THE KHARIA. Every kind of human grouping comes into being, and is maintained, through a process of recruitment by which various persons become its members. In every human family the majority of its members are recruited into it by being born into it. But before children can be born, some women (in patrilocal societies; men in matrilocal societies) must be recruited into it. A family comes into being through such a communication of spouses. Marriage is the socially recognized form of such recruitment through communication. Among the Kharia there are various types of marriages and various conditions under which the same can take place.

The Kharia must observe clan exogamy first of all; i.e., they must seek spouses outside the clan although they do not go outside the tribe or the sub-tribe. Cross-cousin marriage (marrying a maternal uncle's or a paternal aunt's child) is a favoured form of marital alliance. A Kharia can never marry an agnate; nor can a woman marry her husband's elder brothers or cousins, nor a man his wife's elder sisters or cousins, or her mother and aunts.

Adult marriage is the rule. A husband must be in a position to earn a living and his wife must be able to run the home which they set up after marriage. Hindu influences have resulted in some pre-puberty marriages. Generally speaking, even if the bride is a widow, the bridegroom is older than the bride.

All regular (*asli,* real) marriage are parent-made. Irregular marriages are effected through (i) elopement, when two lovers run away and stay away till they are accepted back, which is done as a matter of course; (ii) intrusion, when a girl goes and forces her chosen husband and his parents to accept her by living in their house; and (iii) forcible application of vermilion, at some fair or festival, by a boy on his chosen girl's head. This is a legal form of marriage by capture which does not involve bodily lifting away the girl.

Orthodox, regular marriages begin with negotiations between two parental groups. This really comes later, the boy's parents having secretly managed to see the girl and approved of her. A go-between, *dandia,* acts as a liaison between the two groups. The girl's parental group is then invited to the boy's place and they are keen on observing omens on their way. Bad omens may even send them back home without completing the journey. If they complete the journey, they are entertained, and they see the boy. Later, the offices of the *dandia* are used in communicating formal acceptance. The *dandia* is put into action, and after mutual negotiation through him, a bride price is fixed. Consequent upon this being done, a day is fixed when the boy and boy's parental group go to the girl's house where they are entertained with much pomp and show of respect. The boy's father takes a leading part in the verbal part of the ceremony; he declares his son to be married to the daughter of the hosts, and calls her his daughter-in-law. Some rites are also gone through by the bride and the bridegroom.

Sometimes a betrothal ceremony takes place before the marriage proper is solemnized.

Widow-marriage is practised and is called *sagai.* A widow may marry a widower or a bachelor and he is not required to pay a bride price. He presents a new cloth to the bride and a pot of liquor to her people. The marriage ceremony consists of the application of some vermilion, diluted in oil, on the bride's forehead. The vermilion is brought by the bridegroom but is applied by the bride's female relations.

In the regular marriages, the marriage procession of the Kharia is a conventional and colourful feature.

The Ho. Among the Ho, marriage takes place in one of the following ways:

(1) Ceremonial marriage according to tribal conventions is called *andi.* A modification of the same along the lines of Hindu marriage (like the inclusion of the burning of the sacred fire) is called *diku andi.* The main features of the *andi* form are that the selection of partners is made by the fathers or some other guardians of the persons to be married; a middleman (*dutam*) is appointed to negotiate between the families desiring the union; and a bride price (*gonong*) has to be paid, the amount of which must be settled to mutual satisfaction. The village headman must also be consulted. Clan exogamy must be observed. Marriage is a village affair and only a date convenient to most can be chosen. Consequently, marriages can take place only during those months of the year when there is not much pressure of work in the fields. Marriages take place only between those who have passed the puberty stage. Girls do not marry before 18 and boys before 24. A girl may be often chosen by a young man himself; and his *killi* friends inform his parents about it, who set the negotiations going by engaging a *dutam.* Interpretation of omens plays a decisive role in the final decision to marry. The terms of bride price (*gonong*) payment are discussed when the bride's party visits the boy's house. Later, the marriage takes place when the boy's party, with the boy, visits the bride's house.

At the marriage ceremony, a *deuri,* the local priest, is required to officiate and prayers and offerings are made to the tribal gods and to the *bonga,* right from the *Singbonga* downwards. *Diku andi* involves the presence of a Hindu priest and some Hindu rites.

(2) Owing to economic hardships and the exorbitantly high rates of *gonong,* regular *andi* marriage is falling into disfavour with the commonalty of the Ho. They cannot afford the

expenses involved. The alternative for girls consequently is between remaining spinsters (which involves being dubbed as witches later on) and submission to capture. Young men also must either remain bachelors or capture wives for themselves. Consequently, *opportipi* (capture) is being increasingly reported from among the Ho. At least a show of bodily capture is put up if it has been mutually arranged. Genuine captures also take place.

(3) Marriages based on mutual love often leading to elopement are socially recognized. They are called *rajikhusi* marriages.

(4) *Anader* is marriage by intrusion. When a young woman is not able to secure to herself the attentions of the young man she wants to marry, she goes and makes an intrusion into his family, carrying some presents with her, and declares her intention to live as his wife. She may be abused, beaten out and refused food or shelter and put under all kinds of ordeals, but she remains adamant and is finally accepted as the daughter-in-law as she becomes a constant source of trouble in which neighbours and outsiders also start taking interest. No ceremony is required to legalise this marriage.

The Khasi. As elsewhere in tribal India, so among the Khasi also, one must go outside the clan, but in no case outside the tribe, to seek spouses. Hypergamy is not practised. Since the maternal uncle among the Khasi is regarded almost as a father, his daughter may not be sought in marriage during his lifetime. The maternal uncle's children would belong to their mother's sib, which is different from one's own, and are, therefore, suitable spouses. One's father's brother's child may never be taken as spouse, but one's father's sister's offspring may be taken as spouse after one's father's death.

Marriage among the Khasi has both a religious and a social aspect. Proposals are made by the parents of a young man either at his suggestion or on their own. The girl's parents first consult their daughter, and then omens are observed, and if found favourable the consent is communicated to the boy's parents. This is followed by the bridegroom visiting the bride's house with a party of kin and friends, where some religious ceremonies involving sacrifices of fowls or pigs take place. After the solemnization has taken place, the husband stays with his wife. Among some of the Khasi tribes, the husbands never stay at their wives' houses during the day, but visit them only during the nights. For several years after marriage, until some children have been born and husband and wife have lived peacefully, a new household may be jointly set up by pooling together earnings. It is only then that the taboo is lifted which has prevented the wife and her husband from using each other's things since their marriage.

Polygyny as well as polyandry are unknown. A person can marry his deceased wife's younger sister, but never the two of them simultaneously. A man may keep a mistress, and among some sections of the Khasi, children of such unions enjoy equal inheritance rights to their father's property along with the children of his wife.

Divorce is effected in cases of marital faithlessness, barrenness, marital incompatibility, etc. Unless divorce is by mutual consent, the party that demands it must pay compensation to the other person. A woman who is expecting a child cannot be divorced. Children go with the mother after divorce. The declaration of divorce has to be made in public.

As has already been pointed out, although the family is not our response to a mere biological urge, yet it is only through the establishment of culturally controlled and sanctioned marital relations that a family comes into being. The institutionalized form of these sex relations is called marriage. Many writers have said that marriage is a part of the institution of family.

In the examples given above we have pointed out how marriage takes place among the Kharia, the Ho and the Khasi. Elsewhere in this chapter and in the one on the family, references are made to the marriage customs of other tribes and Hindus and Muslims. No ethnographer has ever reported his having come across a society which does not practise some kind of marriage. Promiscuity is at best a theoretical pre-cultural possibility. It has already been shown that the family is rooted in the bio-psychic needs of the human being. And since no family can come into existence without marriage, human culture, the family and marriage go back to the immemorial past and are coeval with each other. As such, a quest for the origins of the institution of human marriage may be regarded as unnecessary. But such has been the inquisitiveness of modern man that a search for these origins has been made.

HISTORY OF HUMAN MARRIAGE

The evolutionists, ever keen on building schemes of unilinear evolution, i.e. evolution in a straight line, sought to establish a long chain of development at the lower end of which they put promiscuity, without any taboo even on incest, and at the top of which they put enforced monogamy as it prevailed in 19th century Western society. Morgan's scheme has been already referred to in the discussion on the family. It may be pointed out that the startling conclusions regarding promiscuity and group marriage were drawn mostly from certain types of kinship terms which failed to differentiate between different kin, and from the laxity of sex morals in some preliterate societies. Thus, among some of the tribes of Middle India, on festive occasions, some pre-marital and extra-marital license obtains, though the society is strictly monogamous, as, e.g., the Ho are. In recent scientific formulations, based on more data, the classification, rather than description, of kin as also the laxity of sex morals have been explained otherwise. Actually, at the present moment, there is no evidence of promiscuity coming from simple cultures. In India, the simplest and the rudest of tribal cultures we know, e.g., the Andamanese, the Kadar, the Paliyan, the Malapantaram, the Chenchu, the Birhor and others, do not furnish us any evidence of promiscuity. In fact, monogamy and marital fidelity are reported from most of the tribes. Monogamy is the general rule, although it is not an obligatory one; it obtains in the sense that there is a socially permitted marital relationship with only one person at a time. As long as divorce does not take place, the occurrence of extra-marital relations are infrequent. Monogamy has also been reported from the Kamar, a backward tribe of Madhya Pradesh; and it has been reported that among the Baiga, polygyny is on the decline. The list of those Indian tribes which fall in the same category as the Baiga in this respect would run into scores. Evidence from outside India points in the same direction. Lowie sums up the position very well by stating that promiscuity, in the technical sense, must have undoubtedly existed at that point of history when the ancestor of modern man had not yet developed a culture with norms for judging sexual behaviour, but the very simplest of contemporary cultures do not furnish any evidence of group marriages to enable us to substantiate the evolutionary scheme. Indian data, as indicated above, are no exception to the rule. However, as Lowie points out, a state somewhat like that of group-marriage is found as a recent development among the Toda, a tribe by no means one of the simplest in India. The Toda were formerly polyandrous and practised female infanticide. When the new system of law and order was introduced by the British, infanticide became a crime, and the sex ratio got more or less equalized. However, the Toda did not give up polyandry as a consequence but developed polygyny also in association with polyandry. Thus, whereas formerly several brothers married one woman, now they marry more than one woman. This nearest approach to group marriage, where no particular individual has exclusive marital rights over any of the spouses, is a recent development in a comparatively sophisticated society. A similar process of the emergence of group marriage has been reported from the Khasa.

In the light of the above, the evolution of marriage as a sequential scheme is not acceptable. Westermarck takes the stand that marriage has in all probability developed out of a primeval habit, and gets the support of Malinowski, who believes that the family as a grouping has been taken over by man from the highly developed apes. However, it becomes difficult to accept the implication that monogamy is a natural instinct and a primeval habit in view of the fact that polygyny is very widely prevalent in the world. Out of the 250 societies studied by Murdock, polygyny existed in 195, as against 43 monogamous societies. From the data collected among Indian tribes, it is found that the restrictions, if any, on polygyny are more socio-economic than strongly moral or instinctive. Thus, if every Ho does not live in a polygynous family, it is because he cannot afford to pay the bride price over again. The influence of Hinduism and Christianity, and conversion to the latter, also act as preventive factors in parts of Chota Nagpur and Assam.

To conclude, marriage and the family being two aspects of the same social reality, viz. the bio-psychical-cum-social drives (needs) of man, are coeval with each other and with culture, because without the family there could be no preservation of the species and culture; and without marriage there could be no family. A search into the origins of marriage is, therefore, unnecessary and not likely to lead us to any important conclusions which cannot be arrived at, and understood, with reference to the functions and forms of this important and universal institution. Historical data are relevant only in finding out why a particular society has developed a particular form of marriage and not why the institution itself has developed. In order to study its functions, we would look into the reasons underlying marriage.

The Reasons for, and the Nature of, Marriage

The possibilities of sex-gratification, irregular or/and institutionalized, outside the family being present in every society, the conclusion becomes compelling that, although regularized and socially sanctioned sex-gratification is a basic reason for the formation of the family and the institution of marriage, yet it is not the only, nor the final, cause. Satisfaction of the sexual drive is implied in a healthy and normal physical survival, but the exact manner this satisfaction takes place is decided by the cultural traditions of a people. Bio-psychic needs always present themselves to us as culturally reoriented drives. Besides, sex-gratification is not the only purpose of man's existence, and, therefore, not the only cultural end to which marriage is directed. Thus, among the Sema Naga marriage to one's father's widows (other than one's mother) takes place more because that is only way of getting possession of the paternal property which is, according to the tribal law, inherited by a man's widows, than for sex-gratification. Even where sex-gratification forms the dominant motive for marriage, as is generally the case, the need for a dependable social mechanism for the care and rearing of children, and also for the transmission of culture constitute further important motives. Marriage ensures a biological satisfaction (that of sex) and a psychological satisfaction (that of having children) on the individual plane; on the wider collective plane, it ensures a twofold survival, viz. that of the group and its culture.

Besides, the economic organization of some tribes is found so much dependent upon co-operation and division of labour between the two sexes that a stable functioning is possible only when the two sexes enter into socially sanctioned and permanent or semi-permanent relations with each other, i.e. marry. The limited food-gathering economy of the Kadar, the full participation in the day-to-day economic pursuits by women among the Andaman Islanders and the Maria Gonds makes it imperative that men and women marry.

The nature of the marital bond is basically the same everywhere. It involves the social sanction, generally in the form of a civil or/and religious ceremony, authorizing two persons of opposite sexes to engage in sexual and the other consequent and correlated socio-economic relations with one another. In tribal India, the two immediately affected individuals are, in most cases, in their adolescent or post-adolescent stage. However, contact with Hindus, and the desire to rise in the social estimation of the Hindu neighbours, have resulted in child-marriages in many tribes in Middle India, specific instances being reported from the Baiga, the Korwa, the Ho, and so on. The Munda, the Ho and the Bhil are reported to have popularized child-marriage to restrict licence. The marital bond among the tribes of India is found to bring together, not just two individuals, but two families, even kindreds and villages. It is not a tool meant to secure for individuals satisfactions of a highly personal character, but a social mechanism designed to create and foster social solidarity. In contemporary urban society, it is the highly individualistic and personal aspect of marriage which is emphasized.

Forms of Marriage

Marriage can be of several types. All over tribal India, and in other parts of the world as well, we come across rules laying down prohibitions, preferences and prescriptions in deciding the form of marriage.

Preference and Prohibition. A taboo on sexual relations between closely related kin like parents and children and between siblings is universal. An extension of this 'nuclear prohibition' is found everywhere, including among the castes and tribes of India. Since the practice of marrying outside the family is found extended to wider groups like clans, as among the Gond, the Baiga, the Ho, the Korwa, the Oraon, the Khasi, the Naga and so on, the conclusion is that rules of incest cannot have a biological implication, viz. the ban on inbreeding due to the fear that it may lead to racial degeneration. Psychological disorders, being the effect rather than the cause of incest, also do not supply a full motive. The cultural factor of widening the area of co-operative social contact may be considerably responsible for this prohibition on sex-relations between close relatives. Breaches of the rule are often punished by inflicting heavy fines upon, or excommunicating, the offender. The fear of supernatural punishment in case of the violation of the rule of marrying out is widespread in tribal India. This above-mentioned practice of marrying outside one's clan is called *exogamy*. A breach of exogamy brings disaster to the Khasi. It entails excommunication, refusal of funeral ceremonies and no resting place in the sepulchre of the clan.

It has been explained elsewhere in this book that exogamy is generally a characteristic of the clan system based on totemic designations. But it must be pointed out that exogamy is much more widely distributed than totemism. Goldenweiser and many others have disputed a causal link between the two institutions. Then, what may be the origin of exogamy?

Risley, in his book on the people of India, says that probably there has existed in man a tendency to vary. This desire must have driven man to seek marital alliance with strangers, unfamiliar and unknown to him.

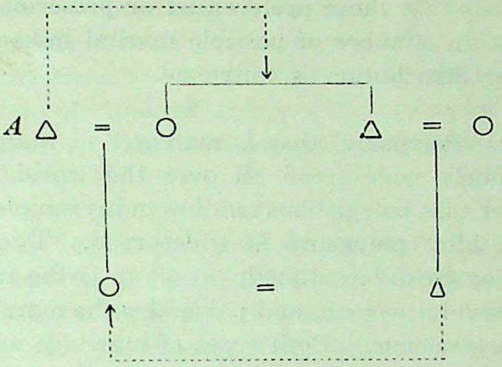
Westermarck has recorded that when he asked one of the Berbers of Morocco why he did not marry within the village, he was asked in reply how he, the Berber, could do so, having seen all the girls growing up in the village along with him. Such an aversion for the familiar may be the explanation underlying exogamy. This would, however, be in direct opposition to the neo-Freudian viewpoint, viz. that sexual intimacy between primary kin exists, and being in the nature of incest, such attraction must be repressed; and exogamy is one such social mechanism. Malinowski has pointed out the reality of incestuous feelings that do often manifest themselves in overt behaviour. The very elaborate rules for the prevention of incest, which are universal, bear witness to such possibilities.

Audrey Richards has, on the basis of her researches among Africans, pointed out that psychologists and anthropologists have often overrated the role of sex, hunger being in reality a more fundamental and compulsive 'drive' than sex. In hunting and food-gathering societies, food is difficult to obtain. Women and children are generally a burden in such societies, particularly those which rely more on hunting. This could have led to female infanticide, which, in consequence, would lead to female scarcity. This must have led to marriage by capture, and, as the next step—since such capture had to be effected from outside the tribe—to exogamy. Thus, food scarcity may be, historically speaking, a probable cause of exogamy.

The reverse practice of marrying within one's tribe, or, very rarely, clan, is called *endogamy*. The two main clans of the Toda tribe, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol, are endogamous, but their subdivisions, the sibs are exogamous. The Bhil also have two similar endogamous groups, the Ujale Bhil and the Mele Bhil. Due to the universal fear of the strange, the novel, and the unknown, almost all the Indian tribes are endogamous. It is the fear of the neighbour's witchcraft and sorcery which is the prime cause for the Korwa endogamy. Territorial, socio-cultural and linguistic units share enough thought- and action-patterns to want to preserve them by endogamy. Besides, territorial and linguistic factors impose limits on the communication of thoughts and persons (spouses) between various groups. However, the barriers of endogamy have been broken down by several sophisticated tribes like the Gond, the Bhil and the Santhal, who have tried to get incorporated into the vast body of Hindu castes by marrying into the lower castes, the purpose of such a movement being the desire to rise in the estimation of the Hindu neighbours.

In certain cases there is a prescription, or only a preference, expressed for marriage to a particular kin. Thus, we find that a Gond must marry his/her cross-cousin, and if one would like to have this prescription waived in one's case, a compensation has to be paid to the losing party. Fifty-four per cent of Gond marriages were found by Grigson to be of this type. The Kharia and the Oraon practise *cross-cousin marriage,* and so do the Khasi, though the latter can have such a marriage only after the death of one's own father, with one's paternal aunt's daughter. The Kadar prescribe marriage with paternal cousins; they are thoroughly endogamous.

Cross-cousin marriage, as a form of exogamy, the only form of exogamy under dual organization, is often explained to be a device for avoiding payment of a high bride price, and also for maintaining property in the household. The Gond of Madhya Pradesh call this form of marriage, *dudhlautawa*, 'return of milk'. The implication is that the bride price paid by *A* for his wife would be returned to his family when *A's* daughter marries her mother's brother's son. (See Diagram on facing page)



C. Levi-Strauss has said that preferential mating has for its main purpose the strengthening of solidarity within a tribe Others, like Homans, doubtful about the primitives' concern with, and ability of understanding what is good for them in the remoter sense in which solidarity is good for a people have said that preferential mating is the outcome of other features of a society. Thus, the rule of marrying one's mother's brother's daughter may be only expected in matripotestal families. Exogamy amounting to scope for marrying anyone except one's sister and mother, with some prejudice against marriage to first cousins on the father's side, has been reported from the Lushei clans of Assam.

Levirate and Sororate. Preferential marriages are also often designed to promote inter-familiar cordiality by making certain linkages imperative. Among the Toda, the practice has been for one woman to marry several brothers (*fraternal,* or *adelphic polyandry*). This practice of being mate, actual or potential, to one's husband's brothers is called *levirate.* When several sisters are simultaneously, or potentially, the spouses of the same man, the practice is called *sororate.* It is generally found to prevail among tribes that pay a bride price for a wife. The death of a spouse is compensated by supplying a new spouse, generally a younger sister of the deceased. Levirate and sororate emphasize the acceptance of inter-familiar obligations and the recognition of marriage as a tie between two families, and not only between two individuals.

It is obvious that these preferential or prescribed forms of mating limit the number of possible marital linkages. Nonetheless, their distribution is universal.

Polygamy. Polygamy, that is marriage to more than one person, is fairly widespread all over the world. Murdock reports 78 per cent polygamous families in his sample of 250. In tribal India also, polygamy is widespread. Two forms of polygamy may be differentiated; *polygyny* is the marriage of one man to several women; and *polyandry* the marriage of one woman to several men. Both types of marriage are referred to as polygamy in common parlance.

Polygyny is found among the Naga tribes, the Gond, the Baiga, the Toda, the Lushei clans and most of the other Proto-Australoid tribes of Middle India. The Khasi, the Santhal and the Kadar are among those that are monogamous. Excessively high bride prices have forced monogamy on many, as e.g., on the Ho.

Polyandry is, comparatively, much restricted in distribution. It is found among the Tiyan, the Toda, the Kota, the Khasa, and the Ladakhi Bota. From Kashmir to Assam, among the Indo-Aryan as also the Mongoloid peoples, polyandry is reported. The Nayar were polyandrous and there are many survivals of the custom found among them even today.

In India, polyandry is of two types. When several brothers share the same wife, as among the Khasa and the Toda, we have *adelphic,* or *fraternal polyandry.* In the general type, also found among the Toda, there need not be any close relationship between the husbands, and the wife goes to spend some time with each husband. So long as a woman lives with one of her husbands, the others have no claim over her. Nayar polyandry was of this type.

Polyandry is not everywhere explicable with reference to a preponderance of men over women as was posited by Westermarck. In Ladakh it was actually the women who were more in number. Among the Toda, property considerations and sex-disparity explain this institution.

Polyandry is found to lead to fewer children to every woman, more male children, and a high incidence of sterility among women. We are not yet certain of the biological reasons that could explain such facts. Among the Khasa there is a double standard of morality. Whereas a wife has to conform to the norms of married life, a daughter need not. Thus frequent visits to parents' houses make extra-marital relations possible.

Hypergamy. Under the kind of social structure that caste has given rise to in India, there are certain restrictions in the form of limits beyond which a man and a woman cannot go in the choice of a spouse; of course, he or she must invariably marry outside his or her own *gotra.* Just as in modern times, if a millionaire's daughter, who chooses to marry a pauper who will accept no doles from his father-in-law, would lose her economic status, likewise, under the caste system, if a high-caste woman marries a low-caste man she loses caste status which is indicative of a degree of ritual purity. Up to marriage a daughter shares her father's caste status and after marriage her husband's. But a man himself does not lose caste status or ritual purity by marrying a low-caste woman, though his offspring would suffer from a partial lowering from their father's caste status. Therefore, to prevent a woman from losing caste and becoming ritually impure, Manu and other ancient lawgivers prescribed hypergamous (*anuloma*) marriage under which a man can marry from his own caste or from those below, but a woman can marry only in her caste or above. *Hypogamy* (*pratiloma*), i.e., marriage of a woman to a man from a lower caste is not permitted. Thus, for men, the following marriages are permissible:

Brahmin — Brahmin; Kshatriya; Vaish; Sudra.
Kshatriya — Kshatriya; Vaish; Sudra.
Vaish — Vaish; Sudra.
Sudra — Sudra.

Likewise, for women:

Sudra — Sudra; Vaish; Kshatriya; Brahmin.
Vaish — Vaish; Kshatriya; Brahmin.

Kshatriya — Kshatriya; Brahmin.
Brahmin — Brahmin.

The social consequences of such a practice are not only obvious but have also been borne out by historical facts. Thus in the later decades of the last century, Brahmin girls had either to hold out the temptation of huge dowries (a kind of bridegroom price) or choose between polygyny and spinsterhood. Among the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal, young men took to marrying several wives and would visit them at their parents' houses; otherwise, in the absence of financial solvency, which would solve the problem, spinsterhood was the only other alternative. Hence, Brahmins have traditionally despised female children and a daughter has become a synonym for a curse and the cause of her parents' discomfort and humiliation.

Among the Sudra, the males have, as a consequence of hypergamy, to pay a high bride price or to choose between polyandry and bachelorhood. This has often led to marriage by capture among the lower castes.

Ways of Acquiring Mates

The manner in which mates can be acquired are various in tribal India. Marriage is generally regarded as a civil contract and not a religious sacrament, and, therefore, religious solemnization does not take place everywhere. However, contact with Hindus has invested this religious solemnization with a prestige value in the eyes of the tribal people; and numerous are the instances in Middle India where the tribal folk have their traditional marriage ceremony as well as some imitation of the Hindu ritual marriage. The Ho provide such an instance. It must be noted, however, that among several tribes, like the Khasi for instance, marriage has had something of a religious sanction also. Marriage brings together, not just two individuals, but two families in a network of social obligations.

Eight important ways of acquiring a mate may be listed on the basis of data reported from tribal India. They are:

1. Probationary marriage,
2. Marriage by capture,
3. Marriage by trial,
4. Marriage by purchase,
5. Marriage by service,
6. Marriage by exchange,
7. Marriage by mutual consent and elopement, and
8. Marriage by intrusion.

Probationary marriage has been reported from among the Kuki. They permit a young man to live with his sweetheart in the latter's house for weeks together, after which, if they so decide, they marry each other. In case the couple do not find each other's temperament to be suitable and compatible, they separate, and the young man pays cash compensation to the girl's parents.

Marriage by capture is growing rare with social advance and the widening application of the Indian Penal Code. However, it continues, up-to-date, to be one of the ways of acquiring a mate among the Naga tribes, fear of raids having in the past led to female infanticide. Cases of capture have also been reported from the Ho, who call it *oportipi,* and the Gond who call it *posi'othur* and the Bhil, and several other pre-Dravidian tribes. Among the Gond, capture takes place often at the request of the parents of the girl. Remaining unattached too long does not reflect any credit on a nubile woman; and her parents often request her cross-cousin to take her away. Several indications are found to bear witness to a possible former widespread use of this method among the Gond. Thus, the bride's party make a pretence of resistance when the bride is carried away; a mock fight takes place; and the bride is expected to weep and lament on the occasion.

Among the Ho, it is the exhorbitant rate of bride price that often leads to marriage by capture, which may often be prearranged.

Besides physical capture, there is also ceremonial capture. Thus among the Kharia and the Birhor, a man desirous of marrying a woman whom he cannot acquire by a more straightforward method would lie in wait for her in a public place or at a fair, and then surprise her by applying vermilion mixed with oil to her forehead. This is regarded as being tantamount to marriage.

In Assam, physical captures take place during raids by one village on another. In Middle India, the method is more peaceful, capture being effected on festival days at intervillage meets when there is much rivalry, drinking and intoxication. Such captures are given social sanction by requiring the gallant who has made the capture to pay a compensation and/or give a feast to the tribal brotherhood.

Marriage by trial is the recognition of personal courage and bravery as highly desirable traits in a young man; and some tribes require a young man to prove his prowess before he can claim the hand of any girl in marriage. If he succeeds in the task assigned to him he has the right to name any girl as his wife. Among the Bhil such a practice is reported to prevail even now. During the Holi festival young men and women practise a folk dance round a pole or a tree to the top of which a cocoanut and *gud* are tied. Anybody is free to dance round this tree. The women make an inner ring of dancers round the tree, and the men an outer ring. The trial of strength begins when a young man attempts to break through the inner ring to reach and climb the tree to eat the *gud* and break open the cocoanut. The women dancers resist his attempt by tearing at his clothes and hair, by striking him with broomsticks, and by even tearing at his flesh, though all this is 'in good faith'. If, in spite of all these obstacles, a daring man succeeds in reaching the top of the tree, he has the right to choose any of the surrounding girls as his wife and take her away immediately.

Marriage by, what has been called, purchase is found prevalent all over tribal India. The Naga tribes pay a bride price, and so do the tribes in Middle India. The bride price may be paid in cash or kind or both. Lowie has emphasized that although the economic nature of this bride price payment cannot be minimized, it nevertheless would be wrong to regard the payment of a bride price as indicating sale and purchase.

It may be only symbolic of the utility of a woman, and by way of a compensation to her parents' family. In case the dowry which is often given to a girl by her parents is considerable the payment of a bride price ceases to have an economic significance. The Rengma Naga pay a bride price, but no economic significance is attached to it. To emphasize the non-economic nature and moral significance of the practice, they pay ten rupees less than the settled bride price. However, as Lowie has pointed out, the economic aspect of the practice of bride payment is not negligible.

The economic aspect of the bride price has assumed huge proportions among some of the Indian tribes, the Ho being one such notable example. Their general economic conditions are not much worse than what they were before they came into contact with the agencies of the urban city culture, but the basic economic values have got completely changed. The amount of bride price to be paid is so high, and it is against one's status and prestige to accept a lower amount for one's child, that many young men and women remain unmarried. These same young men often resort to marriage by capture; and the spinsters have often to undergo further injustice by being identified with witchcraft and sorcery. The desire to marry is compelling and the willing money lender is ever ready with his loans which never get paid up. The frustrated sex-drive also leads to irregular liaisons.

Thus, we find that the bride price among Chota Nagpur tribes has none of those moral virtues which it has among the Rengma Naga. It has been pointed out that the absence of bride price among the Ao and the Angami Naga has resulted in a low status for women and prostitution and that it is bride price which has protected the Rengma woman from these ills. In Chota Nagpur too bride price was meant, as in Assam, to be a stabilizing and useful factor; but its persistence in a partially changed and ill-adjusted cultural setting has made it injure just those very interests which it was intended to serve.

Some of the tribes have arrived at a solution to this problem of high bride price. Thus, if a Gond or a Baiga finds himself not in a position to pay the bride price, he goes to serve in his would-be father-in-law's house as a suitor-servant (Gonds call him *lamana'i* and the Baiga *lamsena* or *gaharia*), and marries the desired girl after a lapse of some years, after which they both return to his household. Among the Birhor, the father-in-law often lends money, which is returned in instalments, to enable the son-in-law to pay the bride price. Till such time as the loan is repaid the son-in-law is compelled to stay at his father-in-law's household. It has been reported that Gurkha labourers from Nepal come down among the Jaunsar Khasa to work as agricultural labourers on the promise that, after the completion of a stipulated period of service on the land, Khasa daughters will be given in marriage to them. This has become a popular practice in view of the prevailing tension between the landlords and the Kolta who were the traditional serfs and worked as farm hands.

Yet another means of avoiding the payment of bride price is through the device of two households exchanging women with each other. This may be found practically all over India. Some tribes like the Khasi, however, prohibit such marriage.

It has already been said that child marriage is a new phenomenon in tribal India, a result of contact with Hindu neighbours. Previously, only adults entered into married life, and, therefore, almost everywhere, marriage by mutual consent with parents' approval was the general rule. Particularly those tribes having the youth dormitories allowed free scope to the individual in the choice of his/her mate. However, in case the parents' consent was not forthcoming, an elopement has generally been the way out; and the indulgent elders have always received back the over-fond couple. Even now such marriages do take place.

We have referred to physical and ceremonial capture by a young man of a girl he is fond of but who will not marry him. The opposite case of a girl desirous of marrying an unwilling young man is also found; there are reports of such girls thrusting themselves on the unwilling young men. Such marriages may be called marriages by intrusion. The Birhor and the Ho are among the tribes that practise it. The Ho call it, very appropriately, *anader*, meaning, that which involves being humiliated (disrespected). The over-fond girl is actually subjected to insulting and harsh treatment, often beaten, turned out and refused food, but she refuses to abandon her intentions, and finally is accepted as one of those impossible persons before whose obstinate will one has to yield.

Inheritance of Widows. Among the Sema Naga, one is often obliged to marry one's father's widows, other than one's own mother. The reason for this lies in the fact that on a person's death his property goes to his widow(s) and if his son(s) wants/want that property he (they) can get it only if he (they) marries/marry the widow(s). One may express the opinion that, in actual practice, women must be conceived of as property in the Sema Naga society. Lowie also holds the same view.

In Middle India, it is customary to marry one's elder brother's widow, thereby obviating the need of having to return a once-accepted member of the family. The inability to pay bride price often puts an individual at the mercy of fate, and he may be able to marry only on the death of an elder brother or cousin. In such circumstances, the obligation to marry an elder brother's widow is not disliked.

PRE-MARITAL AND EXTRA-MARITAL SEX RELATIONS

All over tribal India, pre-marital relations are generally free, and much value is not set on virginity. Among the Konyak Naga a girl continues her amours even after her marriage. It is only when a child is born to her that she moves to her husband's household. It being known that the child if it is not his does not cause any inconvenience.

In Middle India, pre-marital liaisons are overlooked unless of course they lead to pregnancy, which is generally regarded as shameful for the girl's parents, even if the pregnancy be caused by a suitor-servant's attentions. The girl is asked to name the child's father and he is forced to marry her. No, or only reduced, bride price may be paid when such girls are married off.

Among some tribes, like the Muria, adolescent life is one of preparation for all the activities of adult life; and in their dormitories grown-up girls are often found to train younger boys in the art of love and sex-life.

Extra-marital sex relations are not so easily tolerated. One of the main causes of Maria murder and suicide has been reported to be marital infidelity. However, such sex-jealousy is by no means universal. The Tharu men are so much under the thumbs of their beautiful wives that they take no offence at the latter's lax sex morals. The Khasa have developed a double standard of morality whereby a woman as a wife (*ranti*) has to observe a strict sex-morals code, but as a daughter (*dhyanti*) has free scope to have as many liaisons and amours as she likes. In view of this, the Khasa women never completely cut off themselves from their parents' households. The strains which the Khasa wife suffers by being wife to several men, who are mentally and physically unlike each other, are relieved by the unfettered life of abandon which she can lead in her parents' village.

DIVORCE

Dissolution of marriage is made difficult if it is regarded as a religious sacrament, which is not the case with Indian tribes. Consequently, we find that divorce is commonly found, and may be obtained by one of the parties refusing to continue to live in wedlock, by abandoning the spouse.

The Khasi permit divorce for reasons of adultery, barrenness and incompatibility of temperament, but the separation can take place only after mutual consent. In some cases, the party desiring the dissolution may have to pay compensation to the other party. There is no possibility of remarriage between two such people who have separated by divorce. The divorce has to be a public ceremony. The mother gets the custody of the children.

Among the Lushei, the dissolution of marriage is a much simpler affair. If a husband turns out his wife, he must pay the balance of the bride price if any is due. However, if his wife deserts him or is caught in adultery, she has to arrange for the return of the bride price her husband paid for her. A second marriage between those once divorced is possible. Among the Kuki also, divorce is easily obtained.

The Gond allow divorce freely on grounds of marital infidelity, carelessness in household work, barrenness and quarrelsome disposition. Either party can take the initiative in obtaining a dissolution. However, the husband a wife chooses after divorce may have to compensate the first husband if the divorce has been obtained against his will or at his request, but on account of a recognized fault in, or a punishable offence of, the wife. Women often abandon their husbands among the Muria Gond, and the *panchayat* regularizes such a break-up as divorce by fixing an amount as compensation money.

The Kharia also permit the right to demand dissolution to either party, on grounds of marital infidelity, sterility of the wife, laziness, refusal of the wife to live with her husband, theft and adjudication by the village *panchayat* that the wife is a witch. It may be noted that none of these charges, except perhaps the first one, is ever preferred against the husband.

Instances of divorce can be cited from all the known tribes of India.

Widow marriage has been practised all over tribal India, and the Hindu ban on such marriages has not as yet made any deep impact on tribal social organization, nor is it likely to do so in view of the popularization of widow remarriage among Hindus themselves.

CHILDREN

The attitude towards children which makes one look upon them as an economic liability is a product of the industrialized West, where bringing up a child properly entails huge expenses. In India, the Hindus have always regarded it as imperative to beget children, sons, to be precise, if there is to be any peace beyond this life. The tribal folk often do not share this religious idea, but their attitude towards children is also one of joyful acceptance. Among the Khasa, if a woman has proved very fertile, she often seeks divorce, because the Khasa attitude towards children would any time enable her to conclude a better marriage than the previous one. Parents have no heavy obligations to discharge on account of their children; not even nominal tuition fees have to be paid for their education. Instead they supply much-needed light labour like the tending of cattle and also supply colour and dance, music and variation in the village. It is indeed a delight to see the beautiful and healthy Oraon boys with pierced and ornamented earlobes, meticulously oiled and combed hair with red cloth bands tied round the head and strings of beads round their necks.

Children are particularly pampered in a polyandrous society, like that of the Khasa, where they enjoy even better treatment than do their mothers. The main reason for this particular culture trait in a polyandrous society may be the low fertility of women.

Adoption is widely practised all over tribal India. Thus, among the Lushei, if a person of means has no child, he often adopts one. It is a private affair and no special ceremony is required. The same is also true of Kuki clans like the Thado.

If in a Khasi family all female members have died out then the male members are permitted to choose a daughter of another family and are allowed to call her their own daughter. She performs the family religious ceremonies and inherits the family property.

From Middle India there are similar instances of the widespread practice of adoption; and it must be noted that in all these cases the adopted child enjoys the same rights and privileges as one's own child would. Maltreatment of, and discrimination against, the adopted child may result if a child is born to a couple after they have adopted one.

MARRIAGE AMONG HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

Marriage is regarded as necessary in the life of a Hindu, because without a wife he cannot enter the *Grihasthaasrama* (stage of a householder), the second of the four stages of life (*asrama*) ordained by the holy law-givers. Besides, without marriage there can be no offspring, and without a son no release from the chain of birth-death-rebirth. Marriage has been also designated as one of those body-sanctifying rituals which every Hindu has to perform.

The religious sanction behind the Hindu conception of marriage is thus so obvious. The marriage ceremony consists of a series of ritual performances, the most important of which are the gift of his daughter by the father to the bridegroom (*kanyadan*), the kindling of fire as divine witness and sanctifier of the ceremony (*vivaha-homa*), the holding of the bride's hands by the bridegroom (*pani-grahan*) and the walking of the bride and bridegroom over seven steps, each step being denoted by a coin placed on the floor, the bridegroom leading the bride (*sapta-padi*). Then the bride is carried away; *vivaha*, the Hindi word for marriage, means 'carrying away'.

Marriage must take place within one's caste (*varna*) but in practice it takes place only within one's sub-caste (*jati*). In seeking a spouse one must move beyond five degrees on the mother's side (beyond *sapinda*) and beyond seven degrees on the father's (beyond *gotra* and *pravara*).

Eight forms of the marriage ceremony are recognized. When a father gifts his daughter to a learned man of good character, it is called *brahma* marriage. If it is a priest to whom the daughter is gifted, it is called *daiva* marriage. When a prospective son-in-law makes the gift of a bull and a cow to the girl's father before receiving her as gift it is called *arsha* marriage. This latter should not be confused with marriage by purchase which is called *asura* and has been declared unlawful by Manu. Marriage based on mutual love is called *gandharva* and need not be based on the acceptance of the match by the kinsmen of the couple directly involved. When a father gifts his daughter to a man, after duly honouring him, and exhorts the couple to perform their *dharma* together, it is called *prajapatya* marriage. Abduction is called *rakshasa* and regarded as lawful, but the seduction of a girl who is asleep, intoxicated or of unsound mind is unlawful; it is called *paisacha* marriage.

Hindu marriage, being a religious sacrament, is indissoluble. Only death can normally separate those who have been united through holy matrimony. But in the case of women, even death makes no difference, for the Hindu widow cannot remarry.

The complicated character of Muslim inheritance laws, referred to in the previous chapter, is matched by the simplicity of their marriage which is not a religious sacrament, but a secular bond. Prohibited degrees of alliance are few and limited. Thus, marriage between even half-siblings and first parallel cousins can take place. Muslim men can be polygynous under the condition that two sisters or an aunt and niece cannot be taken as co-wives and one cannot have more than four wives at a time. A Muslim can marry his deceased wife's sister and also the parent-in-law of his/her children. A Muslim man can marry a non-Muslim but non-idolatrous woman like a Jew or a Christian; but a Muslim woman does not enjoy a similar right.

Marriage is solemnized by signing a legal document and can be dissolved. But divorce is almost only the husband's privilege; and he can have it even without assigning a cause. Divorce can be obtained by merely repeating three times the formula of repudiation (*talaq*) in the presence of at least two witnesses. But a husband has to pay 'dower', which is a settlement made on the wife out of her husband's property, to compensate her in the event of death and divorce. A wife can obtain *khula* (release) from her marriage by giving consideration to the husband whose consent is essential. If wife and husband separate by mutual consent, it is called *mubarak*. Under certain circumstances, Islamic law does give a wife the permission of unilateral action. Widow remarriage is commonly practised by Indian Muslims.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Linton, R., *The Study of Society*, Chapter XI.
Lowie, R., *Primitive Society*, Chapter II.
    Social Organization, Chapter V.
Prabhu, Pandhari-Nath, *Hindu Social Organization*, Chapter V.
Westermarck, E., *A Short History of Marriage* (London: Macmillan, 1926).

CHAPTER VI

KINSHIP

Types of kinship: consanguineous and affinal. Degree of kinship. Range of a kinship system: broad and narrow. Descent: cognates, agnates and uterine kin. Kinship usages: avoidance; familiarity; teknonymy; avunculate; amitate; couvade. Kinship terms: classificatory and descriptive; examples. Radcliffe-Brown's contributions.

TYPES OF KINSHIP

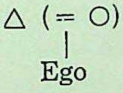
IN ALL societies people are bound together in groups by various kinds of bonds. The most universal and the most basic of these bonds is that which is based on reproduction, an inherent human drive, and is called *kinship.* The desire for reproduction gives rise to two kinds of bonds. Firstly, there is the bond between spouses and their relations on either side; and secondly, there is the bond between parents and their children, and that between *siblings,* i.e., children of the same parents. The first kind of bond, which arises out of a socially or legally defined marital relationship, is called *affinal kinship,* and the relatives so related are called *affinal kin.* The affinal kin are not connected to each other through blood, which is the case with relatives of the second kind enumerated above, who are called *consanguineous kin.* The relationship based on blood-ties is called *consanguineous* (same blood) *kinship.*

In this connexion it is necessary to point out that in determining consanguineous kinship it is not the biological fact that is important but social recognition. Among many primitive societies the role of a father in the birth of a child is unknown, as among the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia for instance. Among them it is the wife's husband who is conventionally accepted as father. Among the polyandrous Toda, until another brother makes the ceremonial presentation of a bow and arrow to the common wife, all children born to her of several brothers are regarded as the children of that brother who last performed the ceremony, even though he may have been away or dead for a long time. Here is an instance where ignorance of the biological role of fatherhood is not implied; only social recognition is shown to override biological fact. Among some African primitives, in case a husband dies, a woman assumes the role of father to the expected child of the wife of the deceased.

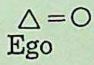
A very universal example of the overriding nature of social recognition is the practice of adoption. An adopted child is everywhere treated as if it were one's own biologically produced offspring. So, in kinship social recognition overrides biological facts.

DEGREE OF KINSHIP

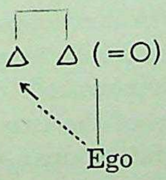
If a person is related to one (ego) directly, then he is ego's *primary kin*, e.g., one's father is one's primary consanguineous and one's wife one's primary affinal kin.



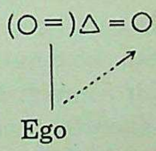
;



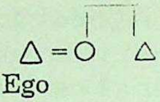
Any kin related to ego through primary kin, themselves being primary kin of our primary kin, are our kin of the *secondary* degree; e.g., ego's father's brother, or ego's stepmother are one's secondary consanguineous kin, and secondary affinal kin respectively.



;



Likewise one's wife's brother is one's affinal secondary kin.



This relationship may be expressed as

△[=]△.

Likewise, the secondary kin of our primary kin and the primary kin of our secondary kin will be our *tertiary kin.* The degree of kinship can thus be calculated, at least theoretically, to the *n*th degree.

RANGE

A kinship group is called a *broad-range* or a *narrow-range* one according to the number of people it includes. Thus, the modern Western kinship system is a narrow-range system, whereas the primitive sib is a broad-range system including people scattered over relatively large areas between whom it is not possible to trace relationship without bringing in a mythical common ancestor.

DESCENT

The modern family recognizes kinship with both the parents' families of origin and, therefore, it has been called a *bilateral* grouping. Of course, this recognition may not be equally weighted on either side. For example, a mother's maiden surname may not be perpetuated in the names of the offspring. As pointed out elsewhere in this book, in primitive society other kinds of descent are also recognized. Thus, there are sibs which completely ignore one of the two lines of descent and are, therefore, called *unilateral* groups. Opposed to such groups are *double-descent* and *bilinear* kin groups. The latter consist of only those persons who are related to one through both patrilineal and matrilineal ties. Double descent involves the inclusion of some kin representing each line.

If a common ancestor is the binder among a people, they are called *cognates.* In case their common ancestor is a male they are called *agnates* or *agnatic kin* or *patrilineal kin:* whereas the descendants of a common female ancestress are called *uterine kin* or *matrilineal kin.*

Those kin who are related to each other directly through descent are called *lineal kin* and those who branch out from the main group, like uncles and cousins, are called *collateral kin.*

KINSHIP USAGES

Within each kin group, whether it is a particularist family, or an extension thereof, like the joint family or the sib, there are certain types of coactive behaviour patterns which exhibit a regularity, a more or less permanent and definite structure. Such types of behaviour, verbal and non-verbal, constitute kinship usages. Some of these usages, universally found, are described below.

Avoidance. It has been found that in all societies avoidance of one kind or another is observed in the relations between a daughter-in-law and her parents-in-law. Likewise, though less universally and also less rigorously, a son-in-law's relations with his parents-in-law are found to be cramped by certain restrictions. Thus, we have the universal kinship usage of avoidance.

One of the earliest explanations of this practice was given by Tylor. He said that in early stages of human history, when sons-in-law went to live with their wives, they were obliged to be on restricted relations with their mothers-in-law, who represented the matriarchal family in which they found themselves as complete strangers and in subservient positions. Thus, Tylor related son-in-law and mother-in-law avoidance causally to matrilocal residence. Later writers have questioned the validity of Tylor's conclusions, since these were based on deceptive statistics. (Offshoots of the same cultural matrix were treated by him as separate examples.) It is quite likely that what Tylor thought to be a causal relation may in most cases be only a correlation.

After Tylor, Frazer and Freud gave their own explanations of the kinship usage of avoidance. Both based themselves on the repugnance, among all societies, for tabooed sexual relations.

Frazer's explanation applies to such examples of avoidance as were reported from the very primitive Ceylonese tribe, the Vedda, viz. brother-sister avoidance, or limited social relations between brothers and sisters reported from the Trobriand Islands and, in fact, from all parts of the world. Should a Trobriand brother happen to see his sister being wooed by a man, or she making love to him, all the three will have to commit suicide. But among the Vedda, brother and sister cannot live under the same roof, nor even can they take their food together. No kind of intimacy or familiarity can ever develop between them. Frazer said that the purpose of avoidance is to prevent such sexual intimacy as would amount to incest. But, the question arises, why is avoidance observed between members of the same sex? Frazer said that such avoidance must have been a later development.

Freud's psycho-analytical explanation, like Frazer's, is based on sexual attraction and the need to prevent sexual intimacy between various kinds of relatives. According to this explanation, a boy or girl when young has an infantile sexual passion for the parent of the opposite sex. Training is, therefore, required to teach the child to overcome and repress this feeling. Family customs are the medium through which this training is imparted. The natural consequence is the rise of ambivalent emotions in the subject's mind who is sought to be pulled away from his/her parent. Avoidance is observed to prevent any error on behalf of the subject in adult life in the observance of the norms of sexual conduct.

Mother-in-law and son-in-law avoidance is explained thus: There is a reluctance on behalf of the mother to hand over her daughter to a stranger; it is a kind of animosity that is given rise to by suspicious feelings. Further, she feels displaced in the affections and loyalty of her daughter.

The son-in-law, on his own side, has to put up with interference and, therefore, the control of a stranger in the guise of his wife's mother. This embitters him. Besides, he feels jealous of all those people who have a claim on his wife. On the other hand, there are factors that attract a son-in-law towards his mother-in-law. The outward aspects of her bearing may give her an appearance akin to that of her daughter, and these might attract the son-in-law. The mother-in-law herself is supposed to be at such a stage of her life when her own sexual activity is ebbing. Naturally there may be cravings in her to find herself in the position of her daughter, and she may at least mentally identify herself with the latter. She must overcome these incestuous feelings and hence the mother-in-law—son-in-law avoidance. Thus runs the complicated Freudian argument.

As one can see from the foregoing argument, there is an overestimate of the attractions that might operate between a son-in-law and his wife's mother. Besides, if the explanation lies in certain human (psychic) tendencies, then why is it not a universal usage ? and further, why should members of the same sex avoid each other ? These explanations turn the primitive into a preoccupied conscientious thinker which he is not.

Lowie has come forward with a very significant explanation. He says that a daughter-in-law represents an alien and perhaps a different set of social, cultural and moral values. Her language, dress and notions about etiquette may be quite different from that of her husband's family. As an individual, her husband is bound to be influenced by her, but the rest of the family must be saved. Hence, the avoidance between her and her parents-in-law. Likewise, the son-in-law must be prevented from making cultural inroads into his wife's family.

Turney-High says that avoidance is a mechanism to preserve peace in the family. A woman's loyalty as wife may come into conflict with her loyalties as daughter-in-law. Consequently, the authority of the parents-in-law might collide with that of the husband. This would subject the wife to severe strain and impair the parents-son relationship. To prevent such social strains, daughter-in-law—parents-in-law avoidance is observed. In other words, there is an implicit recognition that the spouse's authority should get the upper hand, but since in the familial structure it is his/her parents who stand supreme, avoidance between parents-in-law and daughter-/son-in-law is the only way to meet the demands of this situation.

Radcliffe-Brown has given one of the most plausible of contemporary explanations. He points out that avoidance is a social fact and must, therefore, have a social explanation. He says that whenever people come in contact with each other, the possibilities of cooperation as well as conflict are always equally present. But there are certain kinds of kinship where hostility is regarded as against social norms. The best way to prevent such hostility from becoming manifest is to put restrictions on the growth of intimacy; and hence the kinship usage of avoidance. The same explanation is put differently by Chapple and Coon who root the avoidance usages in the necessity to keep the interaction rate low between individuals who would upset the social structure if this rate were increased.

There are other subsidiary kinds of avoidance also, like the taboo on using one's spouse's name, which are for the most part the outcome of the fear of witchcraft and sorcery that always dominates the primitive mind. It is necessary to point out that in many societies, the attitudes towards tabooed relatives are those of respect and consideration rather than hostile or ambivalent.

Joking Relationships. The reverse of the avoidance relationship is an extreme degree of familiarity expressed through joking relationships. Such joking may amount to exchange of abuse and banter, obscene and vulgar references to sex, damage of each other's property, ridicule and so on. Various explanations have been given to explain this equally queer usage of privileged familiarity.

Joking relationships may be indicative of equality and mutual reciprocity. They may also be indicative of potential sexual relationship. Thus is explained the joking relationship between a man and his wife's younger sister, or between a woman and her husband's younger brother. In each case the two may be potential mates. A joking relationship with one's maternal uncle's wife may be indicative of the practice of inheriting all the property of one's maternal uncle, including his wife. It may be indicative of a joking relationship with the maternal uncle himself, expressed through sexual intimacy with his wife. Such usages have been reported from the matrilineal Hopi and the matrilineal Trobriand Islanders.

Among many primitive folk joking relationships have been found to prevail between grandparents and grandchildren. Thus, among the Oraon and the Baiga, such joking relationships are found. It is of immense ethnographic interest that S. C. Roy has reported an instance of a grandfather marrying his granddaughter among the Oraon. Verrier Elwin has reported a similar instance from the Baiga where a grandson married his own grandmother. Recently a similar instance of a grandfather having married his granddaughter, leading to the birth of a child also, has been reported from the Chamar, a depressed caste of leather-tanners spread all over north India. Ordinarily a joking relation between the two kin does obtain among them.

A joking relationship, when not mutual, assumes the role of social control. It becomes indicative of correction through ridicule.

Radcliffe-Brown regards the joking relationship as having a symbolic meaning (just as he does in case of the avoidance relationship). He says that joking relations may be a kind of friendliness expressed by a show of hostility. .Exchange of abuse and even beating each other is at best sham hostility. Chapple and Coon regard this usage as the way to stimulate a higher interaction rate between various people which it may not be possible to do otherwise.

Teknonymy. All over rural India, and among some tribal groups like the Khasi as well, and also elsewhere among the primitive societies of some parts of the world, a person is referred to as the father or the mother of his/her child, i.e., teknonymously. Tylor regarded this kinship usage also as a relic of the former supremacy of women, who never accepted the son-in-law as one of them in their residence and recognized a secondary relationship with him through the children he helped to bring to life. Through extension, a mother may likewise be referred to teknonymously.

Avunculate. If the maternal uncle enjoys a pre-eminent place in the life and affections of his nephews and nieces as a matter of convention, if he has special obligations towards them which exceed those of their father, if he has a prior right over their loyalties, if he transmits his property to his nephew, and if the nephew works for him rather than for his own father; in sum, if the maternal uncle comes first among all male relatives, then this kinship usage is designated as *avunculate*, and the maternal uncle's authority as *avuncupotestality*. If nephews and nieces are brought up in their maternal uncle's family, the condition is referred to as *avunculocal residence*. This is a common usage among matrilineal peoples, but may also be found among patrilineal societies, as a result of diffusion (borrowing from outside) or as a survival of a previous mode of matrilineal social structure.

Amitate. A special role, similar to that outlined in case of the maternal uncle, for one's father's sister is designated as *amitate*. Whereas amitate may be easily explicable in a patrilineal society, it has to be explained in the context of the matrilineal culture-complex of the Trobriand Islanders. It would seem that whereas avunculate in a matrilineal society and amitate in a patrilineal society may be the outcome of an obvious emphasis on one particular group of relatives, such emphasis expressed through avunculate in patrilineal society and amitate in a matrilineal society may be the social mechanism for preventing certain kinship bonds from falling into neglect. Or, to borrow once again the phraseology of Chapple and Coon, these usages are the way to keep up the rate of interaction between such kin among whom it may fall low due to their belonging to such groups which are not taken into account while reckoning descent.

Couvade. A queer practice designated *couvade* by anthropologists has been reported from among many primitive tribes like the Khasi and the Toda, as also from outside India. The practice consists in making a husband lead the life of an invalid along with his wife whenever she gives birth to a child. He refrains from active life, goes on sick diet and observes certain taboos. Thus, the Khasi husband, like his wife, cannot cross a stream or wash clothes until the spirits connected with childbirth are propitiated. This kinship usage involving wife and husband has been variously explained. Some authorities have seen in it a survival of the transitional stage of the maternal-paternal complex. At the paternal stage there is no excuse for treating the father so, for patrilocal residence leaves no room for doubt concerning the paternity of the child. It is only at the maternal stage that paternity is not likely to be known, nor is it considered important as the child takes the name of the mother's family and inheritance of property follows the uterine line of descent. In the maternal-paternal stage, where residence may be matrilocal, but inheritance patrilineal, or conversely, some conventional methods of ascertaining paternity are needed—keeping the father confined in a room or the customary bow and arrow ceremony of the Toda. The difficulty is that couvade is found associated with patriarchal clans and there is hardly any evidence to show that these clans at any time followed any system of inheritance other than the patrilineal. Malinowski believed couvade to be a cementing bond of married life and a social mechanism designed to secure paternal affection. Raglan regards it as an irrational belief which may be prior to marriage and even a contributory cause of the emergence of marriage as an institution.

Other writers have sought to give a psycho-analytical explanation: they have attributed this usage to the husband's desire to lighten the wife's discomforts by a process of participation through identification. But of late other explanations also have been put forward. Thus, it is said that a woman who has been delivered of a child undergoes certain chemical processes within her body which affect the atmosphere around her, if she is in an ill-ventilated cell or room, making ill those other people who live, and therefore breathe, in the same room. So, it is said, couvade is based not on superstition but on a fact. Of course, illness would result only in a few cases and it has been, and is, only anticipated in all the remaining cases.

KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms are the terms used in designating kin of various types. The study of kinship terms is as old as anthropology as a modern science is. The first significant contribution to the study of kinship terms was made by Morgan, who published his important conclusions as regards the study of kinship terms in the second half of the last century. Morgan studied kinship terms from all parts of the world and coined the still-used nomenclature for the two broad categories of kinship terms, viz. the *classificatory* and *descriptive systems* of kinship terms.

Under a classificatory system several people, lineal as well as collateral, and often even affinal, are all referred to by the same term of designation. The term classes them as similar. Such terms refer more to relationship rather than to kin. Against this, a descriptive term of designation describes the speaker's exact relation towards him/her whom he/she is referring to or addressing. Thus, 'uncle' is a classificatory term but 'father' is a descriptive term. Rivers refers also to a third *family system* of terms. Such terms refer to the members of a single biological family individually.

There is no place in the world where either the pure descriptive or the pure classificatory system of nomenclature is used. Nephews, cousins and in-laws are some examples of classificatory terms used by modern Western society. However, Morgan was of the view that as we move away from backward primitive societies towards the so-called civilized societies we simultaneously move away from classificatory towards descriptive kinship terms. Some examples may now be considered.

The Sema Naga of Assam use *aja* for mother; father's brother's wife; mother's sister. The first two terms are indicative of levirate and the first and the third of sororate. The term *apu* is used for father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband, indicating marriage of several sisters to husbands who are brothers. *Ami* is used for father's sister; wife's mother; husband's mother; husband's brother's wife. The first two terms indicate cross-cousin marriage.

Among Kuki clans, *hepu* is used for father's father; mother's father; mother's brother; wife's father; mother's brother's son; wife's brother; wife's brother's son. Thus people of various age groups (generations) are designated by a single term.

Among Angami Naga, *shi* stands for elder brother; wife's elder sister; husband's elder brother; elder sister's husband; elder brother's wife; mother's brother's wife; father's brother's wife. Thus here we find the same term being used for members of opposite sexes.

In popular Hindi, *samadhin* is the only classificatory term; it refers to father and mother of daughter-in-law and of son-in-law.

Morgan's study of kinship terms had a pseudo-historical bias underlying it; he was always intent upon building evolutionary hierarchies.

W. H. R. Rivers has given an interpretation of the significance of kinship terms. He has said that terms of kinship refer to social functions which are antecedent to their use. For example, the use of the term *mama* by a particular class of Indians for a particular class of people is to be referred to the social functions of these persons for explanation. Thus, Rivers also tries to explain, when his theory so demands, certain kinship terms by speculating upon the former existence of now-vanished kinship usages. However, it must be accepted that so long as Rivers' explanation is not merged with Morganian speculation it is a useful manner of interpreting kinship terms. Thus among the Oraon *tachi* stands for father's sister; mother's brother's wife; mother's sister; and mother-in-law. This term indicates the presence of cross-cousin marriage and sororate which are in vogue in this tribe. Some other examples have already been cited. However, there are limitations on the applicability of this explanation.

Therefore, there have been other explanations also. It has been suggested that classificatory terms may be the outcome of the similarities which are apprehended between a group of kin. Others, like Kroeber, have given what has been called the nominalistic explanation, which amounts to saying that a person is 'just' given a name and kinship terms are merely tools of identificaton, and no deep meaning may be read into them. It may also as well be true that the more/less undeveloped a language, i.e., the more/less limited its vocabulary, the more/less would be the number of classificatory kinship terms in it.

CONCLUSION

Radcliffe-Brown has brought about much clarity of thinking in the field of kinship studies by his scientific treatment of the subject. He studies kinship systems with no preconceived notions regarding evolution as did Morgan. Rejecting any conjectural attempts at discovering origins, he studies kinship systems functionally and from the synchronic point of view, the aim being to understand the working of society at large at a time, or over time. Therefore, a marriage and kinship system is defined by him as being an arrangement which enables persons to live together and cooperate with one another in an orderly social life. And he regards the first step in the study of a kinship system to be the study of the kinship terms that are used.

Radcliffe-Brown has evolved certain generalizations which he designates as principles of kinship structure. Thus, there is his principle of inequality of proximate generations, the principle of the unity of the sibling group and so on. According to the latter principle, the solidarity of the sib-group is expressed by the ego regarding all members of his own age group as siblings; he addresses them as such. Thus, what is a diffused group becomes a well-knit one. Exogamy as an irreversible rule follows logically. Similarly, the fact that the generation immediately senior to one's own is responsible for one's education and training, resulting in the need for the maintenance of its authority, is expressed through the principle of inequality of proximate generations.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, Chapter V.
Social Organisation, Chapter IV.
Murdock, G. P., *Social Structure*, Chapters VI and VII.
Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (ed.), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (Oxford, 1950), Introduction.

CHAPTER VII

THE CLAN AND TOTEMISM

Basis and features of a clan and other types of kinship groups other than the family: lineage, clan, gotra *and phratry; dual organization and moieties; emergence of phratries; four possibilities described; Morgan's claim about the historical priority of clan compared to family, and of mother sibs as compared to father sibs; Tylor's analogy of geological layers. Clan organization among Indian tribes. Totemism in India and elsewhere; explanatory theories.*

CONSANGUINEAL KIN GROUPS

WHILE presenting the family, it was pointed out that any attempt to look into the historical origins and pre-family conditions of human social organization was more or less superfluous and also fruitless in so far as this association, along with the institution of marriage, has been coeval with human culture. The pre-family stage, as a hypothetical condition, must have also been the pre-cultural stage, without any characteristic social organization. However, the family as a social grouping does not exhaust all possible forms of association, nor even all the associations based on kinship. In urban society, secondary groups based on self-interest, like hotels and restaurants, creches, schools and colleges, hospitals, clubs, banks and so on fulfil a variety of our needs. Similar needs are fulfilled in primitive society in the family and in other kinship groups. These kinship groups are like a second line of defence.

The family is based on the integrative bond of kinship, and this integration extends universally in two directions, viz. the direction of the father's family of origin and the direction of the mother's family of origin. It is obvious enough that a stress may be laid, for reasons given below, on either of these directions. But as a general rule they are both recognized. As an example we have the modern practice of ignoring the surname of the mother's family of origin. Not only do her children not take this name, but she also gives it up after her marriage and takes the surname of her husband's family. However, a family never ignores either of the two contributory sides in any considerable degree or manner. Thus, the family is called a bilateral group. One of the classic examples of the bilateral character of the family is provided by the Kadar tribe, who are reported to stress or ignore each contributory side equally. There is no prominent example of the family being reckoned as a unilateral group. Morris Opler completely misinterprets Indian data when he says that in a North Indian village he found the family to be a unilateral group.

Other types of groups have been reported with kinship as their basis of integration, but which differ from the family in so far as they ignore one of the contributory sides completely, i.e., in so far as they are unilateral. Such groups are not historically older than the family in so far as the rudest and the simplest of the peoples the world over do not have them. The Kadar do not have any unilateral groupings, nor do the Andaman Islanders have them. The slightly more advanced Kamar and Baiga have them, and similar evidence has been reported from most of the other tribes in India. Wherever these exist, the family does not vanish or become unimportant. Unilateral groups are based on differentiation between two categories of kin and selection of one of these as one's own. Both differentiation and selection are reflective of an intellectually developed and socially advanced people. Functionally, these groups based on the unilateral principle fulfil various needs through the recognition of social relations which do not fall within the scope of the family; and thus a conflict is avoided, providing for the simultaneous existence of the family and some type or types of unilateral groups.

The simplest type of unilateral groupings is the *lineage* which consists of all the probable blood relations of one side exclusively. When this type of grouping is extended to include all those believed to be related through common descent, then we have a *sib* or *clan*. Thus, a sib or clan is often the combination of a few lineages and descent may be ultimately traced to a mythical ancestor, who may be human, humanlike, animal, plant or even inanimate. Radcliffe-Brown takes up a slightly different position and defines lineage as we have defined sib. He introduces the term *lineage group* to designate those members of a lineage who are alive at a particular time. A sib is a consanguineous group, but its members do not share a common residence.

By far the most widespread of unilateral groups is the sib, or clan. It consists of blood relations of one side only who are grouped into an exogamous group. Formerly, common residence and a mystic tie with, or descent from, an animal, plant or material object, which is totemism, were cited as two further universal characteristics of the clan. Thus, Rivers defined a clan as an exogamous division of a tribe, the members of which are tied together by a belief in common descent, common possession of a totem or habitation of a common territory. Lowie omits totemism, because it is frequently absent in American, African, and Asian clans. He also omits common habitation, giving no reason for this second omission, obviously because a clan, often being based on a mythical kinship, may be spread over a large territory, as is the case among Australian sibs, and the Hindu *gotra*. Murdock calls the clan a compromise kin group, because it combines the principles of consanguineal kinship and common residence. This is different from Lowie's clan or sib, for which Murdock uses the term unilinear consanguineal kin group, of which the most widespread characteristic (94.4 per cent valid in his sample) is exogamy. Lowie gives a very strong reason to support the inevitable association of exogamy and clan. He points out that, were a people to start the practice of persons marrying within the kin group, then in course of time no distinction would be possible between unilateral and bilateral descent, as all persons would be related to each other bilaterally. Thus, it is the exogamous character of a clan that makes it a distinctive group. Theoretically this may be very correct, but it is doubtful if primitives really reason like academicians. To them, since every member of one's own age group is called a sibling, he or she is a sibling, marriage with whom would be an incestuous alliance.

When a group of clans gets merged together for some reason or another the emergent grouping is called a *phratry.* If all the clans of a tribe are constituted into just two phratries, then the emergent type of social structure is called *dual organization,* and each phratry a *moiety,* i.e., 'one-half'. Phratries may or may not be exogamous. The two Toda phratries (moieties), Tartharol and Teivaliol are endogamous, although they are further subdivided into exogamous clans. The Angami Naga moieties are said to have intermarried in the past, but these conditions were later on reversed. The Bondo have two moieties, Ontal and Killo. Culture contact with their neighbours has resulted in the adoption of territorial and clan exogamy, which means the emergence of their two moieties as endogamous groups.

A phratry is composed of several clans. It is of significance to note how exactly this may happen. Four possibilities are listed by Lowie.

Firstly, several clans may combine together, without losing all survivals of their previous separateness. Secondly, a clan may grow so large in numbers that it splits up into lesser groups without completely severing the former bonds of unity. Instances of both these, fusion and fission, are reported from the Oraon, the Ho and other cognate tribes of Munda origin.

A third and an interesting possibility is extinction. Rivers reported such a phenomenon from the Toda tribe, saying their dual organization had come into existence through the dying out of all but two exogamous clans of a society which formerly possessed a large number. This process was further speeded up by the fact that one clan was growing so rapidly that its members were taking spouses from all other clans, making intermarriage between those clans difficult, which consequently joined together. Dual organization among the Gond may also have emerged in a similar fashion.

Fourthly, Lowie, on the basis of American data, maintains that clans and moieties may arise separately, for separate reasons, but may combine later on into one organization through being part of the same social system.

Morgan and his followers have in all their studies of social institutions tried to look for their origins and earliest forms, believing that social evolution is an inexorable law, true of every social institution. Thus, Morgan said that the family is a comparatively recent innovation and the earliest form of kin group known to man is the clan or horde. To carry the conjecture still further, he said that out of matrilineal and patrilineal clans, the former is the earlier one and, therefore, the earliest kin group ever lived in by man. To explain the emergence of the family, Morgan postulated certain reasons, which are once again hypothetical and conjectural.

Morgan believed that the first type of mating practised by man was promiscuous and, therefore, paternity was always difficult to determine. Consequently, descent was reckoned through the female line. In course of time, promiscuity gave way to comparatively more regularized sex-relations and property also was accumulated. At this stage, fathers must have revolted against the rule of mothers who denied them rights of fatherhood and of transmission of property to their own offspring. The result of this revolt was, Morgan tells us, the establishment of patrilineal sibs. Promiscuity often meant, in practice, breeding between blood relatives. Such inbreeding, Morgan believes, must have had bad effects on the health of the people involved; therefore, the exogamous sib may be regarded as the outcome of a reformatory movement. There is no medical or historical evidence to prove or disprove the supposed ill effects of inbreeding. But the argument cannot be sustained because sib exogamy prohibits marriage between biologically unrelated people but permits it between blood-related cousins.

Morgan's account of why exogamous sibs emerged and why matriliny was prior to patriliny are more conjectural than historical. His contention is disproved by the distribution of sibs in contemporary primitive societies. As may be anticipated from Morgan's theory, this distribution is not universal; but it is found in the wrong places, wrong according to Morgan's theory.

The simplest societies, of whom the Andaman Islanders are a classic example, do not have clans. We have already referred to the absence of clan among the Kadar. The Australian primitives who are by no means more primitive than the Andaman Islanders have got sibs, but everywhere the family also is present along with the sib. In Africa, the cruder Hottentot do not have the sib, whereas the relatively developed Bantu and Masai have it. North American data fit in this broad pattern. Besides, the growth of property has not upset matriliny in all cases. In India, the Khasi system of inheritance has not been given up following the growth of property, due to potato cultivation as a cash crop, although various problems have arisen as a result of conversion to Christianity. So also among the Garo. In North America, the Navaho, the Crow and the Hidatsa have continued to be matrilineal even after the accumulation of property like cattle wealth. As already stated, biologically useful results of clan exogamy are not supported by sufficient research. Besides, it cannot be overlooked that clan exogamy applies to only one side of the family, and not both. The absence of the knowledge of the father's role in begetting a child was further evidence adduced by Morgan in support of the priority of matriliny. But Malinowski and others have shown that the sociological role of the father is the one that is socially more important and this is recognized everywhere. In many societies there are conventional methods of determining and owning paternity. Elsewhere we have referred to the bow and arrow ceremony of the polyandrous Toda. This brings out clearly the relative insignificance of biological fatherhood in contrast to functional or sociological fatherhood. There are certain social functions associated with the person of the 'father'. So long as these are fulfilled society is not much concerned about biological fatherhood coinciding with sociological fatherhood. It is the social function and its acceptance which is important, not the biological fact. It was perhaps an understanding of this fact which resulted in the adoption of the two words *pater* and *genitor* in Latin, the *pater* being the sociological father and the *genitor* the biological father. Therefore, ignorance of who is the *genitor* need not be an argument in favour of the priority of matriliny.

Tylor has written an essay in which he takes a stand similar to that of Morgan. He says that, comparable to geological layers which are uniform all over the earth, there are uniform and universal cultural strata unaffected by variations of race, language and cultural specificities. An examination of these cultural strata, Tylor believed, would yield a stratification into an earlier maternal complex, an intermediate maternal-paternal complex, and a top, recent stratum of paternal complex. This kind of argument was sustained by pointing out that institutions like filial widow-inheritance (inheritance of one's step mother or mothers on one's father's death) and couvade are found in the maternal-paternal and paternal complexes only. Couvade even dwindles in the paternal complex, thus proving the priority of the maternal complex. The maternal complex is defined to consist of matrilineal descent; the mother's supreme authority (mother right), often wielded by the mother's brother (avuncupotestality); inheritance of property and rank through the female line; and succession to office along the same line. Such a society, wherein all these factors obtain in their pristine purity and glory, has not yet been reported. The Khasi come only near it.

Tylor's theory is logically sound but fails in the absence of factual evidence. Besides, as already pointed out, it is difficult to ignore Lowie's complaint that such rigid sequences of growth of cultural institutions cannot be accepted for their being logical because diffusion always works havoc with logical growth.

Besides, the growth of patriliny out of matriliny is also unacceptable even on purely logical grounds in view of the fact that such a change either through independent growth, or even through diffusion, involves a complete reversal of past practice and the adoption of a completely antithetical principle. These two states of social organization are not chronological stages, but, as Lowie puts it, require two separate theories to explain them. This is corroborated by the fact that many primitive tribes are patriarchal and have been so from the remotest times, while many advanced tribes are matrilineal. This brings us to two broad conclusions: firstly, the family exists in all kinds of societies, at all levels of culture, but the sib is present neither in the most primitive nor in the very advanced, but only in the intermediary types of society. Secondly, the relation between the mother sib (matriliny) and the father sib (patriliny) is neither causal nor fixed-sequential.

Looking into the probable reasons which would lead, and must have led in historical times, to the emergence of patriliny and matriliny respectively, Lowie observes that in order that such a one-sided emphasis might originate, the combined influence, exerted in the same direction, of the mode of residence and the method of property inheritance would be sufficient as a cause. An inalienable name, which is not affected by marriage, would express such a durable membership as typifies the clan. However, daughters under patriliny, and sons under matriliny, while getting their share in ancestral property would not be able to transmit it. Thus, inheritance of property through one line exclusively would lead to the stressing of that line. The Reddi clans have, however, supplied an exception in so far as a woman takes up her husband's clan name after marriage. A similar procedure has been reported also from among the Toda.

THE INDIAN TRIBAL SCENE

The existence of clans is reported from nearly all the tribes of India, including also from such backward tribes as the Kamar, the Chenchu and the Birhor. Tribes belonging to the two main racial stocks of tribal population in India, viz. the Mongoloid and the Proto-Australoid, are reported by various ethnographers to have clan organization. Notable exceptions are reported from the tribes inhabiting the Andaman Islands, and from the Kadar and from the Baiga tribes. The last is an offshoot of the Gond group of tribes and it may be that the clan organization which exists has not been reported.

The Andaman pygmies are one of the rudest peoples of the world, and several tribes were found by Man and Radcliffe-Brown. Both of them report the existence of the nuclear family, consisting of a married couple and their children. The former existence of what have been loosely called 'septs' (Rivers' term for clan or sib) is reported by Portman. Radcliffe-Brown did not find them, but opines that these may have been groups consisting of a few local groups which maintain friendly relations with one another and come together on such occasions as festival gatherings.

From elsewhere in tribal India, there is no prominent example of the absence of the clan, although a lack of uniform terminology and the general absence of a definition of the terms used by each ethnographer is a serious handicap in arriving at definite conclusions.

The Naga of Assam have got clans; their typical local group, the *khel,* however, is only territorial, and not necessarily a kinship group as well.

The Lushei Kuki clans are according to J. Shakespeare, their ethnographer, little more than enlarged families, which are not very obviously manifested in social life. Clans are further sub-divided into families. This description does not indicate any unilateral emphasis; nor is the clan associated with exogamy which is of a very limited nature among these people, prohibiting marriage between the nearest relatives only. Accordingly, it is somewhat puzzling as to in what particular sense the term clan is applied to these people.

Gurdon has reported clans from the Khasi, and these clans are exogamous, thereby satisfying our definition of a clan. The Khasi are a matrilineal people, residence being matrilocal, though often so only temporarily. A breach of the rule of clan exogamy is regarded as highly dangerous in so far as it entails disastrous socio-religious consequences. Inheritance of property takes place only through the female line. Hence, the Khasi clans furnish a good example of social organization based on clans.

The Korwa are an endogamous tribe divided into exogamous clans. Exogamous clans have been reported from most of the Proto-Australoid tribes of Middle India. In these cases clans are correlated not only with exogamy but also with totemism, which is presented below. The Santhal have more than a hundred clans all named after plants or animals or material objects. The Ho *killi* is an exogamous clan, and they have over fifty of them. The Oraon, the Munda and the Kharia clans are likewise exogamous and totemistic. The origin of the Oraon clans is explained by Roy with reference to the phenomena of fusion and fission. The Bhil, the Kurmi, the Kamar and the Bhumij are likewise divided into exogamous clans, and phratries have been reported from the Maria, the Muria, and other sections of the great Gond tribe.

The division of the Toda into two endogamous moieties is of significance as it has given rise to the type of social organization called dual organization. The two moieties are called Tartharol and Teivaliol. The former is stronger in numbers than the latter. These are divided into patrilineal and matrilineal clans. The origins of these moieties have been already referred to above.

Roy has reported about the Kharia of Mayurbhanj that, although at present they have no clan organization, they must have had it in the past and have probably lost it just as they have lost their own language. In some hilly areas the Kharia have a vague idea that all Hill Kharia belong to a *Nag gotra* (cobra clan). Roy also found a vague totemic relation being mentioned with *Saluk* (a bird), *Sal* (a fish), *Asoka* (a flower), *Saru* (yam), *Balia* (a fish), and *Nag* (cobra). Although these Hill Kharia of Mayurbhanj, who still retain their totemic names, do not eat, use or harm their totems, clan (*gotra*) exogamy is not prescribed by them. This may be the outcome of the fact that the original clan organization as also totemism have been lost, and, somewhat recently, totemic names have been borrowed from neighbouring tribes. The term *killi* used by the Ho, the Munda and the Santhal for clan has also been adopted by the Kharia without having a corresponding clan organization. In theory the Kharia believe that clans are exogamous, but, as already stated, in practice they do not practise clan exogamy. Here is an example of confusion arising out of historical growth within a culture getting mixed up with diffusion of culture traits from neighbouring culture groups.

The Hill Kharia of Singhbhum and Manbhum do possess exogamous clans. Among the Dudh Kharia and the Dhelki Kharia also the utlimate basis of social organization is the family and the exogamous totemic clan combination.

TOTEMISM

As Goldenweiser has said, when we refer to totemism we mean that a tribe has a social organization, usually of the sib pattern, which is associated with a form of supernaturalism, consisting of certain typical attitudes towards species of animals or plants or classes of natural objects. This attitude manifests itself in several different ways. Thus, descent may be traced from the totemic plant or animal; the killing and/or eating of the totemic species may be taboo, but may take place on ceremonial occasions; the death of a totemic animal may be ceremonially mourned. Totem and totemites may be supposed to share physical and psychical traits; the totem may be looked upon as a sort of guardian-angel of the totemites. Totemic emblems may be worn as charms and even tattooed on the body. Ceremonies may be performed to pray for the increase of the totemic species. The sibs of a totemic tribe are named after the totem.

Thus among the Dhelki Kharia there are eight totemic exogamous clans, the feeling of social solidarity in each clan being strengthened by the possession of a common totem. These are named *Mura* (tortoise); *Soren* or *Soreng* or *Toreng* (rock or stone); *Samad* (a kind of deer?); *Cage* (quail) used by the Samad clan; *Carliha* (a fruit); *Charhad* or *Charha* (a bird); *Hansda* or *Dangdung* or *Aind* (eel); *Mail* (dirt); *Kiro* (tiger) used by the Mail clan; and *Topno* (a bird).

The Kamar also are divided into a number of exogamous clans. Each clan has some totemistic association, but this is gradually getting lost. The primary function of these clans is reported to be the regulation of marriage. The Kamar clans are named *Jagat* (their ancestors roamed about all over the world); *Netam* (tortoise); *Markam* (this clan reveres the tortoise and is hostile to the crocodile); *Sori* (a jungle creeper); *Wagh Sori* (tiger) and *Nag Sori* (snake); *Kunjam* (goat); *Marai* (carcase eaters) and *Chedaiha* (youngsters). There are myths which explain these names. Thus the

Kunjam are the children of a he-goat and a Kamar girl. The *Netam* were saved by a tortoise at the time of the deluge. Another group was going on the back of a crocodile, but midway on the ocean he ate up some of them; others prayed to and were rescued by the tortoise (who had already some people, the *Netam*, on his back). This second group called themselves *Markam*. The *Jagat* and *Chedaiha* clans are reported not to be observing any totemic complexes. This list may be multiplied and added to according to local traits.

Anthropologists were much confused about totemism till Goldenweiser wrote his celebrated essay on the subject in 1910. Till then attempts had been made by Lang, Durkheim, Frazer, Rivers and others to explain it. Some of them tried to show this association as nothing mystical or meaningful, but only a typical procedure of assigning names. Others saw in it deep-rooted economic motives, like prosperity in trade and a cooperative division of labour with regard to edible varieties of certain animal and plant species. Frazer, who was responsible for the latter of the two explanations just given, also proposed another theory on the basis of Australian evidence. He said that the primitives, not being conscious of the role of sexual intercourse in pregnancy, became aware of the fact of pregnancy at a much advanced stage; and at the time of such a realization the nearest animal or plant was regarded as the cause of conception.

Hopkins pointed out that cattle supplying food, as is the case with the Toda buffaloes, may be looked upon with reverence. Durkheim saw in totemism the emblem of the collective representation, of the social mind. Tylor said that the primitives believe that after a person's death, his soul takes abode in certain animal or plant species, and so the entire species is protected. Thus, totemism, according to Tylor's explanation, emerges, once again, as in the case of Durkheim's theory, as a form of religious worship; to be more precise, ancestor worship in the former case, and worship of society in the latter. Others there have been, like Boas and Swanton, who regarded totemism as an extension of the personal relations of an individual with an animal or plant. The generalization takes place with relation to the relata at both the ends of this dyadic relationship between totem and totemite.

It was left to Goldenweiser to point out that no omnibus solution to this riddle of totemism could be useful because the complex of totemism varies and differs from place to place, and all its so-called typical features are not to be found everywhere. As such, in its study, the emphasis had to be on the peculiar and typical specificities. He regarded it as a socio-religious institution. But on the basis of his data Herbert Risley said that in India the religious aspect of totemism is dead, and only the social aspect is operative. We may generalize and say that, so far as Indian totemism is concerned, an accidental connexion between a group of animal or vegetable species seems to have been the rule, as will be evident from a number of examples. Thus from among the Juang, who have totemic septs, Elwin has reported that totemism may be the outcome of an historical accident, or imitation, i.e. diffusion. For instance, a man may kill a pigeon and later be afflicted with blindness. The medicine-man is very likely to connect the two events. Consequently, the sufferer will develop a reverential attitude, inspired by awe, towards all pigeons, and in course of time worship and protect pigeons.

Generally speaking, the most basic traits of a totemic complex are a special attitude towards an animal or plant species; a clan organization; and clan exogamy. However, it must be remembered that there is no demonstrable causal link between clan and totemism, and exogamy and totemism. Murdock's rigorous statistical method has failed to reveal a causal relation between unilinear groups—the clan is one such—and totemism.

In India the Middle Indian tribal belt, consisting mostly of Proto-Australoid people, is the totemic region *par excellence,* although traces of it are found in all parts of India, including among the castes. Totemism was most probably brought into India by the Proto-Australoids, but it is now found, although in a mild form, among the Mongoloid Naga tribes of Assam also, and it has infiltrated into other more advanced groups, with or without any emotional tie with the totemic animal or plant, as the case may be.

In India, the totemistic people are invariably organized into exogamous clans. The emergence of totemic groups is explained in detail by Roy with regard to, e.g., the Oraon. Fusion, fission, and generalization are all cited as grounds for the growth of totemistic clans. By *fusion* is meant coming together of several families and adopting one common name. Often a clan, growing larger every day, may split into smaller groups; that would be the process of *fission*. If the original clan had been called tiger, the new clans may be given names like tiger's tail, tiger's head, tiger's claws, tiger's teeth and so on. Or, it may so happen that a person is protected or harmed by a tree or an animal on some occasion. Consequently, he would develop a special attitude of friendly gratitude or awe and reverence towards the animal or tree involved; and later on, his descendants may continue the special relationship. Thus, generalization would explain the emergence of totemism. In the light of the popularly believed stories about the emergence of clans among the Ho, it has been shown that in most cases it was an accidental relation between an individual and a plant or an animal which was later on generalized. Hutton believes that totemism in India is perhaps based on the reasons summed up in Frazer's conception theory, and grows as a result of accretions, i.e. addition of secondary reasons. In other words, the beginnings of the institution in a particular time may be slender, but in course of time all sorts of secondary reasons might contribute to the strength of the institution. One of the most significant of these secondary causes is the need of maintaining an ecological balance, a simple adjustment of the man-nature relationship which could bring about a sympathetic relation between man and his environment, leading to totemism on the societal plane.

The invariable association of totemism with clan and exogamy requires some explanation. It has already been stated that exogamy is an inevitable concomitant of unilinear groups, because such groupings are not possible without endogamy being prohibited. If people could find mates in their own group, then, in course of time, the group would cease to be exclusively patrilineal or exclusively matrilineal.

Therefore, we can say that the relationship between unilinear groups—clans—and exogamy is vital; it is causal and organic. The same cannot be said for the association of totemism and exogamy. There is no logical, obvious or causal link between totemism and exogamy.

Writing about unilinear groups in general, Murdock has said that totemism is a common characteristic of lineages, sibs and moieties and that when such social groups have to be given names, animal designations are as obvious as any. Whatever other reasons may be given for this type of association, it is a matter of actual experience that wherever a clan organization has been reported, it has been generally found associated with totemism. But, although Gurdon writes about clan exogamy among the Khasi, he does not refer to totemism among them.

From the above-mentioned evidence, it is quite evident that totemism and exogamy are found correlated simply because of the fact that either is usually or vitally linked with clan organization, although independent of the other.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Goldenweiser, A., *Anthropology* (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1937), Chapter XX.
Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, Chapter VI.
Murdock, G. P., *Social Structure*, Chapters III and IV.

CHAPTER VIII

ASSOCIATIONS AND DORMITORIES

Definition and various types of association; Schurtz's scheme; age grades or classes. Dormitories in India: their internal structure, activities and functions; Pakistan dormitories. The effects of culture contacts upon dormitories. Education.

DEFINITION AND TYPES OF ASSOCIATION

MAN has been defined as a complex of certain biological, and socio-psychological drives. He is impelled by various sets of deterministic needs, rooted in his bio-psychical self and in his culture, to engage in action. This action has the ultimate aim of securing personal (physical) and collective (social) survival. An individual human being, limited by his physical endowments and harassed by the complexity of his needs and desires, is not in a position to satisfy all these needs by himself. He must cooperate with other fellow human beings and engage in organized behaviour to secure the various satisfactions that he is in need of. A solitary isolated human being is not a practical proposition. In his fight for survival, the solitary individual will most probably lose his existence, or failing that happening immediately, he will lose his humanity. Culture and humanity are understandable only with reference to group life, which is the seat of organized behaviour. So, the need for forming *associations*—by which we mean the coming together of groups of human beings to engage in organized behaviour for a designated goal, and in conformity with a designated set of rules and norms—must have come as naturally to man as that for satisfying hunger and allied needs, the two sets of needs being inter-dependent. An association is to be differentiated from a *community* in so far as the former is deliberately formed, and depends upon human initiative and action for its emergence, whereas the latter emerges spontaneously out of physical proximity and a consciousness of kind.

Various principles of integration, as a result of which associations can emerge, have been detected by sociologists and anthropologists engaged in comparative studies of modern and primitive societies. Thus, the most obvious principle of integration, the most widespread in pre-literate societies, has been found to be that of reproduction, a bond which is defined by kinship (blood ties and marriage) and extended by descent. The next obvious and widely distributed basis for group-formation has been found to be the territorial bond defined by a community of interests arising out of propinquity and possibility of cooperation.

Age, sex, occupation, rank and status are various other universally true bases for the formation of associations. There are two other principles of considerable importance, viz. the voluntary and the political principles of integration. The latter brings together the tribe as a cultural and/or a political unit, but such a consciousness of kind may not be present as is to be found in modern nationality-ridden societies. However, voluntary associations are as common in primitive as in modern societies, and these are of immense cultural, socio-economic and even political significance.

Schurtz was the first ethnologist to point out the widespread existence of voluntary associations in primitive society. He stated that those who form associations because of like-mindedness must be, generally speaking, of the same sex and age. Enough evidence has been collected from different parts of the world to give confirmation to this statement. However, what has been difficult to substantiate with accumulating material, and because of such material, is the use of the term *voluntary*. No association is completely voluntary, as degrees of compulsion always operate. This compulsion often results from the interrelatedness of the various principles of integration in their role as bases of associations. In view of this, Lowie has advocated that a distinction should be made, not between voluntary and compulsive associations but between those based on kinship and residence and those on other factors. This latter type he calls the *sodality*.

Various types of sodalities have been found to exist in different primitive societies, sodalities like secret societies, exclusive clubs, age classes, economic sodalities and so on. Fairly often some, or all, of these may be found fused together.

In various parts of tribal India, age classes in the nature of youth houses (dormitories) have been found.

AGE CLASSES

Age classes may consist of bachelors and maidens—in this case the factor of age is emphasized; or of only bachelors or only maidens, in spite of a considerable range of variation in their ages—in this case the factor of sex is emphasized. Generally speaking marriage militates against both age and sex solidarity, as married people are debarred from the membership of age classes. Widows and widowers are often treated as spinsters and bachelors respectively, and they are readmitted as members, or even as 'officers'.

Admission to an age class may be casual, on the attainment of a certain age, or it may have to be accompanied by some *rites de passage*. Attendance at the age class house is obligatory; temporary contravention or a breach of this rule involves various types of punishment. A permanent abstention is not thought of unless, of course, for physical reasons. Culture contacts also have unleashed culture destructive forces which have prescribed or encouraged such abstention.

As Lowie has pointed out such associations have been found to play a dominant part in the social life of peoples, often rivalling and sporadically even over-shadowing other groups. Tribes in India do provide evidence in support of Lowie's stand. However, such evidence as we have does not lend any support to Schurtz's evolutionary scheme in which sex and age are supposed to be the first two principles underlying associations prior to the emergence of what Schurtz called, rather vaguely and wrongly, voluntary associations.

DORMITORIES IN INDIA

Dormitories, i.e. youth houses, have been reported to be existent in preliterate societies from all parts of the world. One of the most exquisite descriptions of such a dormitory is that of the Trobriand Islanders' *bukumatula* given by Malinowski.

In India, dormitories, bi-sexual as well as mono-sexual, are found in practically all parts of the country where tribal people have their habitation. They are found in Assam; the Konyak Naga designate the boys' dormitory *morung*, and the girls' dormitory, *yo*. The Ao and Sema also call it *morung*, whereas the Memi have two names for it, the men's dormitory being called *ikhuichi* and the women's *iloichi*. The Angami Naga call it *kichuki*.

It is found among the Bhotia of the sub-Himalayan region in North Uttar Pradesh, who call it *rangbang*. The Munda and the Ho have it too and designate it as *gitiora*. The Oraon call it *jonkerpa* or *dhumkuria;* the Bhuiya know it as *dhangarbassa*, and the Gond as *gotul*.

In South India the existence of dormitories has been reported from amongst the Muthuvan, the Mannan and the Paliyan. The Kunikar also have a bachelor's hall which serves also the purpose of accommodating bachelors and visitor-guests.

From the evidence at our disposal it would be erroneous to call these dormitories voluntary associations. Attending the dormitory, unless one has been either converted to Christianity and forbidden by the Church to go to the dormitory, or allured by urban sophistication, is the normal procedure for everybody after attaining the age of, say, four or five, as among the Oraon, or more. Attending the dormitory is welcomed and enjoyed by all. But should there be any lazy boys and girls, they are compelled to attend by being fined. Keeping absent without reason is regarded as punishable.

Generally speaking, once the age at which admission to a dormitory has to take place has been attained, the children are sent into it. But among the Konyak Naga, this admission has to be preceded by an elaborate initiation ceremony.

Dormitories may be common, i.e. shared by both boys and girls, as is, e.g., the Muria *gotul,* or they may be confined to one sex only, as are the Konyak *morung* and *yo.*

The dormitory is generally housed in a specially built building, which may be simple and bleak, like the one-doored, low-roofed *dhumkuria* of the Oraon, or elaborate with carved wooden doors like that of the Naga *morung.* It is often built outside the village, in the heart of the jungle. But it may also be near the cornfields as among the Naga, or right inside the village as is the case with many Oraon villages. All efforts are, however, made to give these houses a distinctive and special look. Totemic emblems are often painted on the outer sides of walls, and open compounds are often attached to them.

An individual stays on in the dormitory as a member or officer till his or her marriage.

Life in a dormitory is associated with many customs and observances. Some of these have a traditional antiquity, others have been added in the course of the experience of the functioning of the institution.

The life lived inside dormitories is of a light-hearted type where all seems play and recreation. However, underlying these semblances are deep socio-economic and educative motives.

Youths collect in the dormitories by the evening. The dormitories are warmed and lighted by a fire which is lit inside the room. The members collect there to dance, sing, play, tell each other folk tales and folklore, and later to sleep for the night. In this process two sections of the members are obviously discernible; the seniors and the juniors. It is the seniors who, being well versed in tribal lore and tradition, pass on what they have learnt and experienced to the juniors, who, in their turn, one day assume the role of seniors. It is again the seniors from whom the officers of the dormitories are chosen. These officers are meant to control the activities within the dormitories, and maintain discipline, as also to organize all cooperative effort. The officers are chosen by election. The juniors fag for the senior members, and do all the menial work; collecting of fire-wood, running errands for the seniors and escorting girls, coming to attend on their boy friends in the latter's dormitory, from and back to their dormitory.

The difference between the ages of the seniors and the juniors is often considerable. Widowers can be re-admitted and may be on the wrong side of 20 or 30, whereas new entrants may be only 4 or 5 years of age.

Besides the recreational activity, which is the general and the normal type for these dormitories, the members, led by their 'officers' often assist in various communal endeavours if they are requested to do so. They might assist at a marriage, at house-building, or at harvesting. Generally speaking, the members spend their days with their home people, either in the fields or grazing cattle. It is only after the evening meal that they go to the dormitory. In joint dormitories like that of the Muria, girl members, called *motiari,* massage the tired limbs of the boys, called *chelik,* and comb their hair. It is a pleasure to see the neatly combed and meticulously tied up hair of Muria or Oraon boys.

There are two or three grades within a dormitory. In the Oraon *dhumkuria* there are two grades, consisting of the juniors and the seniors. Once a boy has attained seniority, he is called a *rasik.* The *rasik* are supposed to be the masters of the dormitory lore.

Strict secrecy is maintained as regards the happenings inside the dormitory. This happens particularly in view of the fact that amorous affairs are freely carried on inside the dormitories, although sexual intercourse is not, generally speaking, permitted within their walls. In the Muria *gotul* seniors girls often train younger boys in the sexual act, and no permission is needed from the leaders for sexual intercourse. Such intercourse does not, however, according to Indrajit Singh, take place in the *gotul.* But from Elwin's detailed description it appears that sex congress within the dormitory does take place. Senior boys also instruct the juniors verbally and by mimetic acts, the latter during dances, as regards the intricacies of the sex act. This sexual aspect plays a fairly dominant part in dormitory life.

An interesting, but inadequately investigated, aspect of dormitory life is the comparative infertility of the numerous sexual liaisons established inside or outside the dormitory during one's membership days. Elwin has tried to explain this with regard to the Muria *gotul*, and he seems to indicate that the main reason for this is a post-menarche sterility period. There is also evidence of the use of the rhythm method of birth control. So far as the Muria themselves are concerned, they give many supernatural explanations, such as that of the *gotul* being protected by Lingo, its patron god, sexual congress taking place inside the *gotul* would not lead to pregnancy, since such a thing happening would bring disgrace to Lingo himself. They offer sacrifices and prayers to prevent impregnation, which is not, however, regarded as anything of a social stigma. It only complicates the economic aspect of marriage due to the presence of a child, who, after his mother's marriage to her child's father or someone else, is accepted as a full-fledged member of the wife's husband's household.

The origin of the dormitories is rather obscure. Some scholars are of the opinion that they are a survival of communal houses, which, according to Hodson, were the first stage in the development of homes when the whole village lived together. There has been the suggestion (from Shakespeare) that the dormitory was designed to prevent incest, to save the children from witnessing the primal scene, or to save the parents from being watched while engaged in sexual congress by young children. It may be pointed out that the wide distribution of this institution among hunting and nomadic tribes is highly significant. The need of protection of the tribal group from the ferocious denizens of the forest as well as from the alien and the hostile group who may prey upon them for women or cattle, or for both, is obvious. The ablest hunters have, therefore, to keep together for this purpose. This function often requires keeping awake during a good part of the night. For this purpose, bonfires and fun and frolic must have served as good accompaniments and also as inducements.

Sex acts are taboo during the busy agricultural season, and, therefore, a man's house has to be separately provided for. At such times, women, bereft of male company, would also have to keep apart from men but together among themselves.

From the time the new crops shoot into corn and till the harvesting is over all the men sleep apart from their wives in their fields.

Besides, menstruating women have often to be segregated. Among the Maria and the Muria, husbands are not allowed to sleep within the house with their wives so long as the navel cord of the new born child does not fall. Also, many tribes do not permit sexual relationships between men and women till a child is weaned, which may not happen till after the child is several years old.

Grigson reports about the Hill Maria that, generally speaking, they do not regard the home as the proper place for sexual intercourse. This may have led to having a common dormitory house for both the sexes, as is actually the case with the Maria dormitory.

Hunting communities do not have houses as commonly as the agricultural communities; and as a result of this fact the existence of the dormitories among these hunting communities is easily explicable as arising out of the need for some sheltered rest-house.

Roy has given a threefold purpose (which automatically gives causes for origin) for the Oraon dormitory. Firstly, it is said to serve as an effective economic organization for purposes of the food quest; secondly, as a useful seminary for training young men in their social and other duties; and thirdly, as a place for the performance of magico-religious ceremonies designed to bring about success in hunting and to augment the procreative powers of young men.

Elwin also stresses the magical aspect, pointing out that the *chelik* of the Muria *gotul* have a special connexion with fertility rites. Indrajit Singh has emphasized the religious foundation of the Maria dormitory, which, however, does not appear very obvious. He further mentions practical and straightforward reasons for the establishment of dormitories, like, e.g., the need for rest houses in villages for visitors. Besides, he points out the universal tendency to form clubs. He calls it the centre of Maria social and religious life.

Talking about the Gond, Indrajit Singh mentions participation in joint economic pursuits, training in social and sexual behaviour and provision of accommodation as important functions of the *gotul*. He particularly emphasizes the economic aspect, regarding a stress on the romantic-erotic aspect as misplaced.

The *gotul* of the Muria has reached a stage of elaboration at which it has become a rival of other kinds of social groupings. Its manifold functions lead us to the conclusion that the origin of an institution, a custom, or a religious rite may be an accident, as inventions often are, but the complicated machinery of social formation that may be found existent at a particular time may have gathered its complexity and momentum in the course of its career.

Whereas an institution may be introduced by accident, the belief in its efficacy may keep it alive in an unchanged form. Interest in it deepens if it can be put to more and more social uses. The larger the number of social contexts into which a trait fits in, the greater the number of interests it fulfils. The survival value of an institution is proportional to its utility. The longevity of a trait, therefore, rests upon the number of interests that it stimulates. Older interests fall away and newer ones accumulate round an institution giving rise to a sort of graded utility. This is what has happened in case of the dormitory institution in Bastar, in Middle India.

J. J. Honigmann recently conducted a survey of the men's house as it is found in Western Pakistan. He found that, whereas a considered amount of wealth and energy is lavished upon the construction of these houses, such a thing is never done at the expense of the family dwelling.

The men's house is used as a guest house for short periods of time. It is also a centre of recreation, a kind of retreat where men can have some time by themselves away from the usual tasks and womenfolk. Business interviews which may not be possible back at home are also at times held in these men's houses. Visiting officials in villages also use the men's house as a place for doing official work like holding judicial courts which may not be possible elsewhere for lack of accommodation and staff.

A very interesting development, indicative of culture contact, has been the recent location of community radio-sets in the men's houses, indicating the potential importance of the dormitory as a forum for propaganda.

Culture Contacts and Dormitories. To begin with, the results of culture contacts between tribal and non-tribal ways of living had some amusing consequences on dormitory life in Middle India. Thus, it has been reported that the various officers of the dormitory are named after various village officials functioning for the Government. Thus, among the Maria *gotuls,* the head of the organization is known as *silledar* or *chalan.* Under him are various other officers like *dewan, tahsildar, subedar, kotwar* and so on. Each of these *chelik* is in charge of some work. Similarly, the *motiari* also have official designations like *chalannin, tahsildarin.* The suffix *in* indicates the feminine sex of the bearer of the designation. These titles are bestowed upon various girls according to their intimacy with the *chelik* holding the corresponding titles. The head of a *gotul* is, incidentally, always a man.

The consequences of culture contacts have gone deeper and have even begun to cut at the roots of this institution. This happens in two ways.

Firstly, all those tribal folk, in Middle India or in Assam, who have got converted to Christianity are not permitted by the Church to attend these dormitories. The feeling of superiority felt by the convert at the first blush soon vanishes and gives place to resentment and a feeling of deprivation. This has been the cause of strained feelings. It has been pointed out by Mills and von Furer-Haimendorf, with regard to Assam dormitories, that so long as the young boys and girls go to the dormitories to get their training, the intra-familial relations are exceedingly good and smooth. But once the rod of control passes into the hands of the parents at home, where there are no such compensations as are found at the dormitory, the relations between parents and children become hostile. The growing generation experiences a constant feeling of deprivation and insecurity. Tribal disintegration results in certain cases, whereas in others there are contraacculturative movements, and atavistic tendencies, as may be found in Chota Nagpur today. Secondly, there is the more silent, but more disastrous in terms of cultural stability, gradual influence of more frequent and deeper contacts with urban ways of living, which are invested with a glamour by the tribal people, as also with a high prestige value; and simultaneously there is a loss of love for, and confidence in, their own typical ways of living. Attempts are made to rise in the estimation of the neighbouring non-tribal people, and in this process indigenous institutions are often sacrificed. Thus, boys going to school not only disown going to dormitories but actually stop going there. This kind of feeling may be universalized in a tribe. It has been found that the Ho, with their deep contacts with urban agencies, have constantly denied the existence of *gitiora,* their dormitory institution, reported by earlier investigators.

The decay of the dormitory institution, either because of the missionaries' attitude towards it, or because of the growing effects of culture contacts has brought about the breakdown of an institution, among many others, which occupied a dominant and central place in many tribal cultures. Writing about the Rengma Naga, Mills says that a fairly quick and efficient method of ascertaining whether a particular village is prosperous and thriving, or in decay, is to look for the condition of the dormitory which reflects the total condition of the people.

Writing about the all important *gotul* of the Muria, Elwin says that should it collapse, the Muria would have started on the long descent to disintegration and collapse. This may be an exaggeration but it indicates the significant role of dormitories in some of the Indian tribal cultures.

EDUCATION

Education understood as reading and writing and attending an institution is, comparatively speaking, a modern notion. In no pre-literate tribe in India is education understood in this narrowed-down meaning. And what is true of Indian tribes is also true of most other pre-literate societies of the world. Accordingly, a broader view has to be taken of as to what constitutes education. Along with Lowie, Counts and Mead we also may say that education is, in truth, the social mechanism of initiating the growing generation into their cultural heritage and the use thereof according to traditional methods. Thus, education may be called the preparation for the discharge of adulthood roles. It may be looked at as a process of recruitment which makes it possible for one to impersonate the various roles normally outlined by one's culture. Taken as such, education cannot be confined to reading and writing within the four walls of a school.

Role-taking by the child is the beginning of all human education in all cultures, primitive and modern. But after the first lessons in the family, the modern child's training takes place, to a considerable extent, outside the home. This is true to a lesser extent in tribal India. The various modes of educating the child found in these tribes do not include the reading or writing of languages. As a result of culture contacts the Munda villagers, for example, send their children to schools where they are made to sit on stools or in chairs, a procedure totally alien to these people, and, therefore, a cause of much physical discomfort (and consequent mental strain perhaps). They are taught in Hindi, a language which is increasingly superseding tribal dialects. They are taught subjects, all of which do not have a relevance to their local needs. As compared to these school-trained children, those traditionally trained are better adapted, though it is difficult to claim that they are better educated too.

Story telling, riddle-solving, attending festivals and religious ceremonies provide some of the main ways of educating the child in tribal society. In all these types of training the absence of strict discipline and strangling controls is significant. Certain tribal societies are notoriously lax in their control of the children. This is, for instance, true of the Khasa in the north and the Kadar in the south.

However, institutional training is not totally absent. Life in dormitories is not all play; nor is it utilitarian from the point of view of the village elders only who get much help from the dormitories. The precise significance of the dormitories lies in the training that they provide to their membership. Looked at from this point of view, the scope of the training imparted in dormitories is much broader than that provided in a school; e.g., not even the most uninhibited of modern schools would impart training in the sexual aspects of life.

Lowie believes that one of the most effective influences on human behaviour is that of the fellow members of an age-grade. This is the operative force behind the efficacy of the training provided in a dormitory.

Mills, writing about the Rengma Naga, has pointed out that training in dormitories causes no tensions because there both play and recreation keep going on along with training. This, incidentally, brings about a harmoniousness of parent-child relations which is absent in the Oedipus-complex ridden patriarchal societies. By preventing the converted from attending the dormitories, the Baptist missionaries are, according to Mills, making the Naga run the risks of cultural disintegration. There is no provision for full fledged and extensive or intensive training at home; and whatever training may be imparted would only help in creating tensions between parents and children.

The sexual training imparted in dormitories cannot be dismissed as non-serious or unimportant, and, by any stretch of the imagination, as unhealthy. In spite of the early physical strains it causes, it precludes all those psychological strains of the adolescence period, the inevitability of which was exploded by Mead in her studies of Samoans and others. Whatever may be the social consequences of Kinsey's findings on the sexual behaviour of the Americans, in terms of bio-psychic facts he has pointed out that premarital sex experience enables a woman to achieve quicker and greater satisfaction from marital relations. In dormitories girls go through such a preparation in an institutionalized manner; and promiscuous habits do not necessarily develop as marriage often results from the liaisons which develop if boys and girls from several clans are the members of a dormitory.

There can be no denying the fact that the dormitory as an institution has been the source of immense benefits in the past, and, if thoughtfully utilized, can serve as one of the most fruitful of strategic focal-points from which to control and radiate planned change. The social reformers' first repugnance to dormitory-life, viz., sexual promiscuity, can be controlled by bringing together people from different clans, to facilitate friendships maturing into marriage.

To sum up, one of the most important aspects of dormitories in tribal India is their educative function, in which capacity they often supersede the clan organization itself. Education is one of the causes, and one of the main functions and the main justifications for the existence of this important institution of tribal cultures in India. The various vices which have cropped up in the context of such institutions can be traced to unregulated contacts with outsiders—contractors, immigrant vendors of toys and trinkets and travellers. Missionaries and social reformers have introduced norms of living which may often militate against tribal customs and practices, and which have certainly led to the disintegration of the traditional beliefs about the role of this institution. If the social values and utility of this institution could be interpreted to tribal folk themselves and the evils eliminated, these dormitories may even now fulfil a multiplicity of social and individual needs, which they were originally meant to do.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, Chapters X and XI.
Social Organization, Chapters I and IX.

CHAPTER IX

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN TRIBAL SOCIETY

Definition of 'status of women': the various meanings of the term status and their implication. Matriliny among the Khasi and the Garo. Economic interpretation of status. Status of women in patrilocal societies.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

THE TERM 'status' is a very elusive one. In sociological literature it is often used as a synonym for 'role'. In the following discussion it is used in the meaning of such roles as bring prestige to the person who performs them.

Anthropologists have been till recently divided on the status of woman in tribal societies. Diametrically opposite views have been expressed, some of which take the stand that primitive societies generally assign a high status to women, whereas other viewpoints support the opposite proposition, namely that, in primitive societies women are generally a depressed group.

This wide divergence in views has been made possible by—besides, of course, the methodological error of generalizing on the basis of limited and specific data—the various interpretations of what constitutes status. Besides, descriptions of status as high or low often amounts only to making very generalized and vague statements. As Malinowski has pointed out a correct definition of status can be given only after taking into consideration all mutual duties between the sexes, and the safeguards provided for the protection of each sex against the high-handedness of the other. Lowie has shown that status may mean four different things, all the four of which may not be, however, found to co-exist anywhere. Thus, actual treatment, legal status, opportunity for social participation and the character and extent of work, all determine, each in a specific sense and manner, the status of women in a society. All these four determinants are independent of each other and not causally related. The correlation between them is empirical and not conceptual.

Besides, theory and practice, or, to word it differently, norms and activities do not always necessarily agree with each other. Thus, theoretical or legal status may not be found to be translated into social behaviour.

A couple of examples will illustrate the theoretical viewpoint expressed in the foregoing paragraphs. Among the Toda the dairy is the central place of the economic and ritual activities of the tribe. In the dairy they produce milk and milk products which form the mainstay of their economy. The dairy is their temple, and the socio-religious ideas and rituals of the tribe are inextricably woven into it. Women are on the whole regarded as impure and may never visit the dairy; nor milk the buffaloes; nor prepare any of the milk products for local use or purposes of exchange; nor even prepare any such dishes in which milk is used as a constituent. This type of a taboo naturally reduces the legal status of women to that of a partially excluded group. In actual life this exclusion is maintained. But it is not enforced through coercion or super-ordination. Women are treated kindly and do not become the targets of social contempt as may be assumed. The Toda women are among the most pampered of Indian tribal women. Previously they were polyandrous; but of late polygynous marriages also have taken place, without, however, making any effective change in the status of Toda women. Japanese fancy parasols found their way into the Nilgiri Hills before World War II and were proudly carried about by Toda girls as presents from their boy friends or husbands.

On the other hand, in the Andaman Islanders' society, men and women are equal participants in the religio-economic life of their tribes. But such an equal opportunity for work also means that, compared to a Toda woman, an Andaman pygmy woman is a drudge. Besides all that men do, she has the usual burdens that are everywhere only the woman's lot, like, e.g., house-keeping, bearing and rearing children, and so on. Thus, equal opportunity for work does not necessarily come as a blessing.

Among the Kadar there is a well-defined division of labour, giving full opportunity to women within the field which is demarcated as theirs. This saves them from being both men and women in terms of work. Thus, we find that character and extent of work are important determinants of the actual position assigned to women in a society.

So far as the gap between theory and practice is concerned, the best example is provided by the rural Hindu villages, where, theoretically speaking, women are equated with goddesses, but are, in actual practice, treated as drudges. Ill-treatment is coupled with no equal opportunity for social participation in spite of the immense amount of work which is expected of them.

MATRILINEAL SOCIETIES

The Khasi. It is an important and interesting question with which we are, after the above discussion, faced: What is it that determines the status of women in a society? A very ready answer in the past has been that in a patriarchal society the position of women is low and depressed whereas in a matriarchal society they enjoy a high status.

Matriarchate as such is a conceptual invention, and nothing like perfect matriarchate exists in any part of the world in the light of our present knowledge. The nearest we come to it is the type of tribal structure to be found among the Khasi.

The Khasi are a matrilocal and matrilineal people. They trace descent from female ancestresses who are often depicted in folk-tales as princesses of tribal legends. Even the god creator is frequently given the attributes of the female gender. They reckon descent from the mother, i.e., only along the female line. Property is inherited only from mother to daughter. A man's earnings go to his mother's family before his marriage, and after his marriage to his wife who keeps house for him. However, matrilocal residence is not a permanent condition.

Ceremonial and religious life among the Khasi, especially that connected solely with the home, is in the hands of women. Ancestor spirits are worshipped and these are mainly female. The powers of sickness, death and protection of the household are associated with goddesses. Priestesses assist at all sacrificial ceremonies, and male priests only deputize.

In certain cases women are both religious as well as secular chiefs. Thus, in the important Khyrim state, the high priest and the actual head of the state used to be a woman, who combined in herself sacerdotal and regal roles.

But there is no evidence of absolute supremacy of women in so far as men are neither dominated, nor ill-treated, nor suppressed either. Actually they receive respect from womenfolk and wield immense authority in their households which are established after marriage. The husband is called by a Khasi term meaning 'lord'. Divorce is possible only when both the parties agree. A unilateral termination of the marriage contract is possible only if compensation is paid to the unwilling party. Men are able to indulge themselves, and intemperance is common enough among them to raise suspicions of a higher death rate among males. Husbands are fairly independent of wives, just as the wives themselves are.

Thus we find that matriliny, and matrilocal residence even though temporary, give a pre-eminent position to the Khasi women.

Residence is not, by itself, regarded as powerful enough to create status for a woman. Matrilocal residence does not necessarily add to the status of a wife, although it certainly does to that of her kin. Indirectly, however, a woman gains by the protection of the status of her kin.

It is residence in association with the inheritance of property which adds to social status.

The Garo. The Garo supply us with another example of a near-matriarchal society. Among them children belong to the mother's sept and 'motherhood', i.e., an enlarged family. Proposals for marriage must come from the woman. The Garo regard themselves as the descendants of a common ancestress; and descent and inheritance are reckoned through the mother.

Property once owned by a 'motherhood' can never pass out of it. A son cannot inherit property because he would bequeath it to his wife's children who would belong to their mother's and not his motherhood. However, a husband can make full use of his wife's properties during her lifetime. The woman is in fact, among the Garo, only the vehicle by which property descends from one generation to another.

Men can marry any number of wives, generally three wives is the maximum reported. No price is paid either for bridegroom or for bride. Widows are not permitted to remarry for long periods, in order to keep property within the family by waiting for the attainment of maturity by infant children. Thus, this becomes a positive measure of oppression of women, and its cause is their legal superiority and eligibility. Widows must marry a nephew of the deceased husband if he so desires. Refusal to do so would entitle the aggrieved nephew to compensation. Professional prostitution is unknown, but adultery is common. Punishment for an adulterous man is often death whereas for a woman it is only tearing of ear-lobes and clothes to begin with. Repetition of the offence may, however, entail the death punishment. Adultery leads also to divorce. Refusal to work is yet another cause for divorce.

The type of Garo social organization is not a matriarchy like that of the Khasi tribes. However, both these societies yield the conclusion that privileges do develop, as a consequence of matrilineal descent, matrilocal residence and inheritance of property through the female line only, which add to the status of women.

Economic Interpretation

An explanation in terms of economic pursuits, seeking to account for the status of women with reference to the part they play in the economic life of society, was attempted by Hobhouse among primitive societies. He came to the conclusion that in 87.5 per cent of pastoral tribes and 73.0 per cent of agricultural tribes the status of women was negative, i.e., their position was found to be a depressed one. The explanation given was that domestication is a more masculine job. Lowie criticizes Hobhouse, saying that in view of the reality of diffusion such cultural causalities become generally improbable and get reduced only into correlations.

Writing on the status of women in South Asia, U. R. Ehrenfels says that in South East Asia four types of early human societies can be found, viz. the food gatherers, higher hunters, plant cultivators and nomadic herdsmen. Succession and inheritance of property bring about a discrimination in status between the sexes. The food gatherers, like the Kadar, the Malapantaram, the Paliyan, the Irula, the Paniyan, the Chenchu and the Andaman Pygmies, for instance, are bilateral, i.e., the sexes hold an almost equal position without having any laws relating to succession and inheritance.

With the growth of property, made possible mainly by masculine strength, patriliny and a higher status for men emerges.

Plant cultivators, like the Khasi, e.g., become matrilineal. Men among them have achieved a high degree of professional specialization, personal wealth and power. But women's rights are thereby not endangered, because they are protected through preferential rights, that refer especially to succession in family titles or names and inheritance of property. This is not, however, done at the cost of men. Further examples of this type are the Garo, the Nayar, the Menon and some of the Pillai, Tiya as well as Muslim Mapillai families.

Nomadic herdsmen, like the Toda, once again bring about a reassertion of the patrilineal principle and a consequent disparity between the status of sexes, giving the better position to men.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN PATRILOCAL SOCIETIES

As has already been pointed out, the influence of the mode of residence has a far-reaching, though by no means ultimate, influence in determining the status of women. In the presense of her own kin a woman is less likely to be ill-treated, and more likely to acquire a dominant position. This dominant position may have no legal or social background; it may as Lowie has stated only indicate the superiority of the wife's kin; but there can be no denial of the fact that in such situations a dominant status of women, at least a dominant position, is a normal consequence. It is quite another matter that the situation may not be made use of.

What holds good for women in matrilocal societies holds good for men in patrilocal societies. We have already pointed out that all such societies as are dominated by women do not always choose matrilocal residence. Thus, even the dominantly matrilineal Khasi are not always found to live in matrilocal residences. Soon after marriage, when a husband moves into his wife's household, he will attempt to set up a household of his own, which he succeeds in doing in most cases, and lives with his wife and children only.

Similarly, matrilocal residence has been found in India to develop in patriarchal societies, as for example under *kulinism* in Bengal, where a Brahman wife had to live with her parents, and the husband who was polygamous, visited the wives occasionally at their places, and children grew up in the house of their maternal uncle. The custom of *gharjamai,* which makes many a husband leave his paternal domicile to take up residence with the wife in the latter's house, also develops matrilocal residence. And still the broad pattern of such groups remains patriarchal.

The status of women in all types of societies, but particularly in the patriarchal, is determined by various types of taboos that are attached to women generally. These taboos might be protective, or preventive or productive. Thus, the Toda taboos on women are preventive as the impurity of women, arising out of menstruation, child birth etc., makes them unsuited for the Toda religio-ceremonial life which centres round the sacred buffalo dairy. Consequently, anything affiliated to the buffalo dairy and milk is generally to be prevented from being made impure through contact with women.

Such hard and fast rules cannot be laid down, however, for all patriarchal societies. Thus, it is reported about the Ho that both dominant as well as subservient husbands are equally common; and the Ho are a patriarchal people.

Among the Gond, Grigson says that, in various aspects of social life, women enjoy status and freedom, as, for instance, in the choice of a husband, pre-marital sexual licence, seeking of divorce and so on, but in other aspects they are a depressed group working for their husbands as labourers might. Women as labourers are prized in the Gond society as a consequence of which fact it is rather rare to meet bachelors among the Gond.

The patrilocal Tharu are dominated by their wives who are said to be experts in sorcery and witchcraft. Tharu women are notorious for the influence they have even over people from the plains. This is possible of being explained with reference to the unusually beautiful looks of Tharu women, and their loose sex morality.

Among the polyandrous Khasa, residence is patrilocal as polyandry is of the fraternal type. While living with her husbands a woman is under constant physical, emotional and social strains. Her position is hardly enviable. But the Khasa society has evolved its own social mechanisms to act as a safety valve, the absence of which might otherwise totally upset their social stability. The Khasa have become well-known for the double moral standard of their women; that is, a polarity in their women's sex-life. When a woman is at her husband's house she is a drudge, with no position or freedom or will of her own. But according to the traditional practices, she frequently visits her parents' house; and once in her own village all controls and restrictions are lifted. The accumulating tensions find release in sexual indulgence.

The one conclusion that can be drawn from examples such as the above is that it is a scientific error to approach the women of a society with a rigid bias to the view that they have either a low or a high status. Such dichotomies are generally misleading; and certainly so in this case. There can be so many intermediate statuses, and there can be polarity, though it may not be so striking as that of the Khasa.

The position of women among the patriarchal Naga tribes of Assam varies from tribe to tribe. Thus, the Sema women are socially better placed than Ao and Angami women, although the latter are better placed in terms of the possession of property and sexual licence. In choosing husbands Sema women have no dominant voice but their wishes are always inquired into and generally respected. In a wife the best quality is her ability to do useful work rather than her looks. In the husband's household a Sema woman takes a high place, and her children are treated kindly.

In Middle Indian tribes women are constant companions of the working man, and enjoy more or less equal rights with him. This, however, does not necessarily mean that women enjoy good status. On the contrary, it may only reduce them to the level which, in view of their limited physical capabilities and maternal duties, would become a positive handicap. As has already been pointed out, free scope for work and social mixing may actually turn out to be a burden, as in the case of women among the Andaman Islanders.

The status of women, as outlined above with regard to tribal India, is hardly reduced by any disabling stigma or inferiority attached to women, although periods of impurity in their life are widely recognized, observed and even feared. But as we move into higher castes — the position of women belonging to lower exterior castes remains the same as that of tribal women — the position of women becomes intolerable, servile and helpless. Mere absence of rights does not indicate subservience, just as their existence does not warrant their exercise. Even tribal women whom competent authorities have credited with freedom and latitude in intersexual relations, suffer from cruelty and desertion and compromise with the ruthless behaviour of their spouses; and even if divorce is an escape, few take recourse to it. The Ho treat their wives with consideration generally, but many cases of women committing suicide because of cruelty, maltreatment and desertion by their husbands have been reported.

The status of women in any society is connected with their child-bearing and child-rearing functions; and as mothers they always receive respect and consideration. For this same reason barrenness is regarded as a stigma among nearly all the castes and tribes generally, and in certain cases such women are regarded as anti-social. The childless Ho spinster, unmarried because no one has come forward to pay a high bride price, has in so many cases been dubbed as a witch.

The status of women in India can be understood more in the context of Indian ethnology than in that of religion. Some explain the inferior status of women as a result of the superimposition of a patriarchal code over a matriarchal matrix; but in South India where such a clash has certainly taken place, the status of women has not been undermined. The rigid codes of behaviour outlined for women in Brahmanical texts do not affect tribal and lower-caste women. Nor even do these latter women enjoy the theoretical importance which these texts outline for the Brahman's wife who is defined as his 'better-half'.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, Chapter VIII.

Majumdar, D. N., "About Women in Patrilocal Societies in South Asia", in *The Status of Women in South Asia* (Orient Longmans Ltd., 1954).

CHAPTER X

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Definition and component parts of religion; common and distinguishing elements between various religions. Various theories on the origins of religion: animism, animatism, manaism, naturism and the functional theories of Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, and Durkheim. Magic: imitative and contagious magic. Magic, religion and science; fetishism. Taboo, its nature and explanation. Tribal religions in India; Bongaism; the fall of tribal gods.

DEFINITION AND CONSTITUENTS

IN and for the conduct of his daily life man has evolved certain mechanisms. Thus there are his economic organization and technology. These are his response to himself, i.e., to his own biological needs, and bring him into particular contact with his natural environment. His relations to other human beings, necessitated by the need to organize (without doing which no basic drive can be satisfied), are made possible by language, education and social organization, and are controlled by political organization. Then there is religion; it is the human response to the apprehension of some thing, or power, which is supernatural and suprasensory. It is the expression of the manner, and type, of adjustment effected by a people with their conception of the supernatural. Religion had been regarded as a product of civilization until Tylor gave convincing proof that primitive societies have their own versions of religious activity, not very different from that of civilized societies. Ever since Tylor's views were published no ethnographer has reported any primitive society without religious beliefs and practices.

From the etymological point of view, Bouquet has shown, religion is derived from the Latin word *rel(l)igio*, which itself is derived from either the root *leg-*, which means 'to gather, count or observe', or from the root *lig-* which means 'to bind'. In the former sense the implication is belief in, and observation of, signs of Divine Communication. In the latter sense the implication is the performance of necessary actions which may bind together man and the supernatural powers that be. Both the implications are relevant in view of the fact that beliefs and rituals have been found to be the main component parts of religions everywhere.

Beliefs and Rituals. As already stated, all religions consist of a mental attitude regarding the supernatural. The most widespread manifestation of this attitude is in the shape of *beliefs* and *rituals*, the former often wrongly called *myths.* What we call myths are believed in by the people to whom they belong, and are therefore better designated as religious belief or beliefs. All religions, primitive and modern, have this base of belief and ritual. Ritual consists in the observance, according to a prescribed manner, of certain actions designed to establish *liaison* between the performing individual and the supernatural power, or powers. Beliefs are a charter for the rituals, as also a rationalization of the same. These beliefs ensure that the rituals will be observed. What differentiates the so-called higher religions from the primitive variety is the relative absence of philosophical speculation in the latter. Primitive man has not been found to be given to philosophizing as much as modern man is. However, the presence of religion of one kind or another has been always reported by investigators; and today Jung has made it an essential feature of human life without which attainment of full integration of the human personality is not possible.

It may, however, be kept in mind that the conception of the exact nature of the supernatural differs from society to society and people to people. For some the supernatural may be constituted of ghosts and spirits; for others it may be an impersonal power which pervades everything in this world; for still others it may be manifested through a pantheon of anthropomorphic gods and goddesses, or a single high God, and so on.

Data collected from numerous primitive societies all over the world reveal that the primitive generally distinguish between two component elements in the supernatural field; there is a sacred part and a profane part. The sacred part, according to Durkheim, consists of, what has been termed, religion, and the profane part of magic or primitive science. Malinowski, however, classified religion and magic as the sacred part and science as the profane part.

EXPLANATORY THEORIES

Anthropological theories of religion have been concerned mainly with examining the content of various conceptions of the supernatural as prevalent in different societies at different times. The earlier anthropologists also tried to trace the evolution of religion from cruder into developed forms. Recent theories concentrate on outlining the functions of religion.

Animism. The earliest anthropological theory about primitive religion, seeking to trace its origins and explain it, was given by Tylor. He said that although the origin appears to be multiple, yet there is only one idea underlying it, viz., belief in the soul (*anima*); hence the name *animism* for this theory.

Tylor's conjectural arguments ran as follows. Primitive man had certain experiences; in his dreams he engaged in various types of activities even while he was sleeping; he met his dead ancestors in dreams and had hallucinatory experiences about them, and other beings, while he was awake; he heard the echoes of his own voice; he saw his own reflection in ponds, pools and rivers; and he failed to disentangle himself from his shadow. Even while he was having these ununderstandable (to him) experiences, something of a much deeper import must have happened and set the primitive man's mind thinking: someone must have died. This catastrophe must have been a great intellectual challenge. What had really happened which had suddenly put an end to a person's actions, verbal and non-verbal? He looked the same, but was not the same. There must have been some unseen thing in him which must have escaped, unseen, making him dead. It was thus that the belief in such an unseen thing, or power, which kept people alive when it was in them, and made them dead when it left their bodies emerged. Such a thing, or power, is called 'soul'. But how was it that sleep, so very like death, was not death, and how was it that people had all these various experiences in dreams, and while awake, heard echoes and saw shadows and reflections? Certainly, Tylor says, primitive man must have thought there must be two souls in a human being; a free soul which could go out of him and have experiences, and a body soul which if it left the body resulted in its death. The former may have been associated with and represented by breath and shadow, the latter by blood and head. Primitive man must have come to the conclusion that when the body soul left the body permanently, the person concerned died; and his soul became a ghost or spirit. The soul must have obviously appeared to be immortal because they could dream about people who had been long dead. The uncertainty whether the soul has left the body temporarily or permanently may be a reason for the practice of double funeral, a 'green' one and a 'dry' one, found among some contemporary primitive peoples of India and elsewhere. The first, green, funeral takes place immediately after death and the second, dry, funeral is observed after the lapse of some days when all hopes of the return of the soul are given up; and the second funeral is often the occasion for the more important ceremony, e.g., among the Toda and the Ho. The Ho call it the *jangtopa*; when drums beat, *topam jangtopam*, they celebrate the union of the spirit with the impersonal force which they know as *bonga*. Among the Kota the green funeral is called *pasdau* and takes place shortly after actual death has taken place. The second dry funeral, called *varldau*, is held some time later and for all those whose demise has taken place since the last dry funeral. The dry funeral symbolizes the complete severance of connexion between the dead and this world, and their entry into the other world.

So, Tylor believed that an attitude of awe and reverence towards these intangible and non-material spiritual beings forms the core of the earliest form of primitive religion. These spiritual beings are not under our control, and have, therefore, to be propitiated lest they should do harm, and in order that they may render help. Thus ancestor worship was the earliest form of worship and tombs the earliest temples. Animism consists of such a belief in the role of spiritual beings in human life; it is a kind of polytheism. Tylor believed that in course of time there was evolutionary development in religious beliefs and forms, and the progress was from polytheism towards monotheism.

It has been complained that Tylor made a philosopher and a rationalist out of primitive man, which he certainly is not, and must never have been. Tylor had no field experience and did not know that primitive man lives an active life and is not given so much to thinking as his theory postulated. Instead, he observes life and nature and participates in it; he does not rationalize about it. Consequently, other explanations were sought for. But it was not suggested that Tylor's theory was wholly wrong. It over-emphasized one aspect of primitive religion, viz., the belief in soul and spirits. Tylor's evolutionary sequence leading from polytheism to monotheism has, however, found no proof and therefore not many adherents.

Animatism and Manaism. Tylor's earliest critics said that animism is a later development in the history of religion. They postulated a pre-animistic stage when religious belief supposedly consisted mainly in the belief that everything has life and is animate. Prominent among these writers were Preuss and Max Müller. The latter's name is associated with the theory of *naturism*, given below.

More recently, Marett evolved a special form of animatist theory which he called *manaism*. Marett said that the entire religious life of the primitive is born out of their belief in a certain ununderstandable, impersonal, non-material, and unindividualized supernatural power which takes abode in all the objects, animate and inanimate, that exist in the world. It lies more or less beyond the reach of the senses, but is manifested as physical force or such other excellences as man can think of in himself, others and also in objects around him. It may differ in intensity, the degree in which it is present in a person or an object, but in essence it is always the same. Such a set of beliefs Marett called *animatism* or *manaism* after the term *mana* used by Melanesians to designate this force. Majumdar's description and analysis of the conception of *bonga* among the Ho (given below) falls in line with Marett's theory of primitive religion. Some North American tribes call this power *orenda.* It is elsewhere known as *aren* and *wakua.*

But even this explanation is open, to some extent, to the main criticism levelled against Tylor, viz. that it invests the primitive with an aptitude for thinking and rationalization which he does not actually possess.

Naturism. Reference has been already made to the German theory of *naturism* associated with Max Müller. He said that the earliest form of religion must have been the worship of objects of nature; and evidence in support of such a view has come in from archaeological excavations conducted in Egypt and elsewhere. It is maintained that an attitude of awe or love and reverence towards objects of nature is born as a result of a 'diseased' mind which invests lifeless things with life and all the power that is associated with life. This error of mind is, according to this theory, born out of defective language. Such linguistic errors as the sun *rises* and *sets*, or thunder *sends* rain, or that trees *bear* flowers and fruit, give rise to belief in some power inherent in the sun, thunder, trees etc.

So far as it is maintained that objects of nature were worshipped, no difficulty arises; evidence in favour of such a practice is heavy. But any claim to such worship being the earliest form of religion, or the explanation given, is not convincing. There is no proof to show that various conceptions follow linguistic expressions about the same. On the contrary, linguistic expressions may follow certain already existent ideas.

The merit and usefulness of these various theories emerges when they are taken together, as each of them expresses some essential truth regarding primitive religion.

Functional Theories. Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown have given functional explanations of primitive religion. Malinowski points out, with reference to the Trobriand Islanders, that religion is intimately connected with various emotional states, which are states of tension. For example, quite a few of their magical and religious practices centre round the fishing expeditions. These are the outcome of the state of fear which a possible disaster on the seas gives rise to. Similarly, hate, greed, anger, love, etc., may arise due to various situations in a man's life. These situations create stresses and strains and, if permitted to exist over a long period of time, frustrate all action. A human being has to be an acting individual; and normal action is not possible in an emotionally upset state of existence. Religion is made use of in such a situation as a tool of adaptation; its purpose is to purge the human mind of its stress and strain, i.e., it is cathartic in its action. In other words, religion has the function of bringing about a readjustment between man and the supernatural in upset states of existence. It is a device to secure mental and psychical stability in an individual's life.

Radcliffe-Brown takes a different stand. The function of religion, he says, is not to purge fear and other emotional strains from the human mind, but to instil a sense of dependence in it. He says that, ultimately, the survival of the group is more important than that of the individual; and if the latter has to make some sacrifices it is in his own interest to do so, because without social survival individual survival is not possible. However, the individual does not seem to realize this always, and he seeks to chart out an individual course of action. If each individual were to do this there would be utter confusion and chaos and no organized activity would be possible. Adherence to a norm of behaviour is essential in terms of social survival; and it is the fear of supernatural control and punishment, as also the anticipation of suport in the case of socially approved conduct, that brings about this adherence. Therefore, the function of religion is to create a twofold feeling of dependence on society and thereby obtain the individual's concurrence with the social norms, the ultimate aim being social survival. The function of religion is the contribution it makes to that total activity which is designed to perpetuate society.

Here again, we may say, that the truth lies in a conjunction of the views of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. Their viewpoints might appear opposed, but they are not; they have to be taken as complementary. The individual is as important to society as society is to the individual.

Radcliffe-Brown's and Malinowski's sociological explanations are derived, in part, from Durkheim's theory of religion. Durkheim says that religious notions are born and conceived of when we find the social group collecting together for festivals and other social gatherings. Social life on such occasions is at its intensest, and impresses the human mind with the transcendentalism and omnipotence of the group. It is conceived of as the source of all that man has and all that man is. Religion is the recognition of the superiority, moral and physical, of the collective over the individual.

Durkheim defines religion with regard to the parts of which it is composed. These parts are beliefs and rites; the former constitute the static part of religion and the latter the dynamic part. Mere beliefs constitute theology. In religion we have only sacred beliefs; beliefs which refer to gods and deities who are actually symbolic of society. These beliefs are put into practice by the performance of rites. Profane beliefs and practices are not sacred and do not form part of religion; they are magic. They are suggestive of individual arrogance and are antisocial and, therefore, profane.

RELIGION, MAGIC AND SCIENCE

Religion and magic are two ways of tiding over crises. Primitive man must have had to face the realities of life.

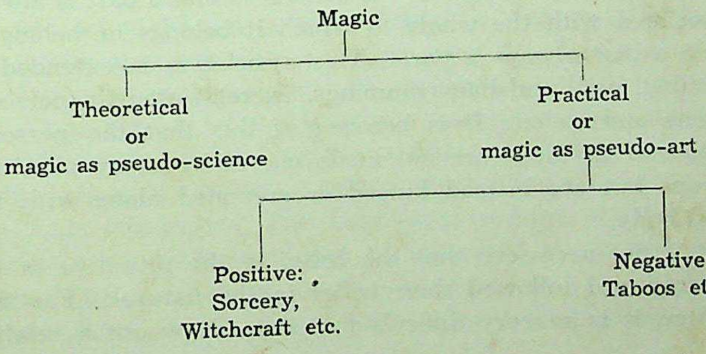
He did so with his belief in some superior power, or powers, either by trying to coerce it into service, i.e., by magic, or by praying and offering worship to it, i.e., by the religious approach. Both magic and religion are tools of adaptation, the objective being to help man out of difficult situations and relieve his tensions. The two aproaches seem to have always existed together and sometimes they come so near each other as almost to blend into each other. However, it is believed that the magical approach is the more primitive. Man must have resorted to supplication only after his ego-driven magical approach failed to produce results invariably.

On the basis of evidence collected from all parts of the world, Frazer found that magical formulae are based on two principles:

(i) Like produces like; and
(ii) Once in contact always in contact.

He has reduced these principles into laws. The first he calls the *law of similarity*, and the magic associated with it *homoeopathic*, *imitative* or *mimetic magic*. The second is called by him the *law of contact*, or *contagion*, and the magic associated with it *contagious magic*. On these two principles are based all the various magical rites found in primitive society. All types of magic are labelled *sympathetic* by Frazer, because he considers them to be based on the principle of sympathy between cause and effect. Magic, like modern science, is based on the observation of, and experimentation on, cause-effect phenomena.

Frazer sums up these conclusions in a diagram:


Magic
Theoretical or magic as pseudo-science
Practical or magic as pseudo-art
Positive: Sorcery, Witchcraft etc.
Negative: Taboos etc

Now, some examples may be cited. In Chota Nagpur some tribal groups believe that thunder, with its rumbling noise, is the direct cause of rain. Therefore, when they want rains they go to a hill top, sacrifice a hen or a pig, and then start flinging down stones, rocks and boulders down the hill, expecting rain to follow the rumbling noises created by their action, just as it follows thunder. The Ho light fires expecting rain to come out of the cloud of smoke that is raised to the skies. These are cases of homoeopathic magic. So also was the human sacrifice of the Khond. It is believed that as tears roll down the sufferer's eyes and blood gushes forth from his wounds, so will rain come. A similar belief connecting tears with rain was the basis of a now-banned ceremony of the Tehri-Garhwal Rawaltas who used to make a person suffer an ordeal as a consequence of which tears would stream out of his eyes, and even on occasions cause death by strangulation. Thus, as in science, so in magic, a basic causality is postulated, but the choice of cause in connexion with an effect is wrongly made.

Burning of effigies is yet another common form of imitative magic. It is believed that when the effigy is burnt, or nails driven into it, its original also will suffer likewise.

Contagious magic operates differently. Primitives have been found unwilling to use each other's clothing, not for reasons of hygiene, but because clothes are regarded a part of that person's body who wore them first. Similarly, nail-cuttings and hair-trimmings and bodily excretions are also regarded as parts of the person to whom these belonged. The main implication of the law of contact is that a part is always associated with the whole to which it belongs or belonged: once a part always a part. This association is extended to clothing, nail- and hair-trimmings, excreta, utensils, personal effects and so on. It is because of this that the personal effects of the dead are not made use of by many primitive groups but are instead buried or cremated along with the dead body.

It is not necessary that the belief of the primitive in the supernatural followed their belief in the natural. For that matter, it is so very difficult for us to draw out a relation based on sequence between the two. The supernatural to the primitive must have been a projection of the *mana*, and ideas about it must have developed side by side with those about natural phenomena. The power that underlay these natural and supernatural forces needed to be controlled for social adjustment. Two dissimilar ways were evolved for doing so: coercion and submission. This is a basic difference, one of approach, between religion and magic.

There is yet another difference; an air of secrecy surrounds the magician and his disciples do not all know each other. Religion is public and communal; it has a congregational aspect. Both the magician and the priest mediate between this world and the other. The former is feared, the latter commands respect; the former is malevolent and the latter benevolent.

Science and magic both depend upon mechanistic procedures. The magician must follow the same type of process as is done by the scientist. But whereas the latter deals with the natural world, the former deals with the supernatural.

Magic and science both assume the existence of non-variant relations and the operation of impersonal causes in a more or less mechanical fashion. In magic there is assumed uniformity of cause and effect such as is postulated in natural laws. Frazer says that the two are essentially the same, the difference being that magic is based on wrong assumptions regarding causal relations. That is why he calls magic the 'bastard sister' of science. He holds that magic is false and, therefore, barren. Were it to become true and fruitful, it would no longer be magic but become science. The two attitudes, scientific and magical, differ; the former is matter of fact and the latter has in it an element of amazement, expectation, uncertainty, etc. Science assumes only natural causes and arrives at results after observation, experiment and verification. Magic assumes occult causes and works in an atmosphere of distinct unreality, excluding verification as part of its technique. The failures of science are due to inadequate knowledge and can be corrected by further research. The failures of magic are supposed to be due to some error in the performance of ritual, or else due

Now, some examples may be cited. In Chota Nagpur some tribal groups believe that thunder, with its rumbling noise, is the direct cause of rain. Therefore, when they want rains they go to a hill top, sacrifice a hen or a pig, and then start flinging down stones, rocks and boulders down the hill, expecting rain to follow the rumbling noises created by their action, just as it follows thunder. The Ho light fires expecting rain to come out of the cloud of smoke that is raised to the skies. These are cases of homoeopathic magic. So also was the human sacrifice of the Khond. It is believed that as tears roll down the sufferer's eyes and blood gushes forth from his wounds, so will rain come. A similar belief connecting tears with rain was the basis of a now-banned ceremony of the Tehri-Garhwal Rawaltas who used to make a person suffer an ordeal as a consequence of which tears would stream out of his eyes, and even on occasions cause death by strangulation. Thus, as in science, so in magic, a basic causality is postulated, but the choice of cause in connexion with an effect is wrongly made.

Burning of effigies is yet another common form of imitative magic. It is believed that when the effigy is burnt, or nails driven into it, its original also will suffer likewise.

Contagious magic operates differently. Primitives have been found unwilling to use each other's clothing, not for reasons of hygiene, but because clothes are regarded a part of that person's body who wore them first. Similarly, nail-cuttings and hair-trimmings and bodily excretions are also regarded as parts of the person to whom these belonged. The main implication of the law of contact is that a part is always associated with the whole to which it belongs or belonged; once a part always a part. This association is extended to clothing, nail- and hair-trimmings, excreta, utensils, personal effects and so on. It is because of this that the personal effects of the dead are not made use of by many primitive groups but are instead buried or cremated along with the dead body.

It is not necessary that the belief of the primitive in the supernatural followed their belief in the natural. For that matter, it is so very difficult for us to draw out a relation based on sequence between the two. The supernatural to the primitive must have been a projection of the *mana*, and ideas about it must have developed side by side with those about natural phenomena. The power that underlay these natural and supernatural forces needed to be controlled for social adjustment. Two dissimilar ways were evolved for doing so: coercion and submission. This is a basic difference, one of approach, between religion and magic.

There is yet another difference; an air of secrecy surrounds the magician and his disciples do not all know each other. Religion is public and communal; it has a congregational aspect. Both the magician and the priest mediate between this world and the other. The former is feared, the latter commands respect; the former is malevolent and the latter benevolent.

Science and magic both depend upon mechanistic procedures. The magician must follow the same type of process as is done by the scientist. But whereas the latter deals with the natural world, the former deals with the supernatural.

Magic and science both assume the existence of nonvariant relations and the operation of impersonal causes in a more or less mechanical fashion. In magic there is assumed uniformity of cause and effect such as is postulated in natural laws. Frazer says that the two are essentially the same, the difference being that magic is based on wrong assumptions regarding causal relations. That is why he calls magic the 'bastard sister' of science. He holds that magic is false and, therefore, barren. Were it to become true and fruitful, it would no longer be magic but become science. The two attitudes, scientific and magical, differ; the former is matter of fact and the latter has in it an element of amazement, expectation, uncertainty, etc. Science assumes only natural causes and arrives at results after observation, experiment and verification. Magic assumes occult causes and works in an atmosphere of distinct unreality, excluding verification as part of its technique. The failures of science are due to inadequate knowledge and can be corrected by further research. The failures of magic are supposed to be due to some error in the performance of ritual, or else due to counter-magic by more powerful magicians.

However, magic and religion are very close to each other in their role as tools of adaptation when common skills and capabilities are of no avail. Thus, Malinowski has shown that while making boats and canoes the Trobriand Islanders are perfect technicians and have a sound body of scientific knowledge. They know why a boat is made to have a certain shape, how it floats and how it may sink. But with the amount of science they know they cannot cope with the problem of why a storm comes at a particular moment and why particular canoes are sunk. So, magic and religion step in as post-scientific techniques. Malinowski has been criticized for postulating such a theory of 'double truth'.

Magic and religion are both imbued with the mystery of the world. But whereas one seeks an explanation in terms of spirits and gods, that is, religion, the other does so in terms of force, and that is magic. Nonetheless the roles of magician and priest are often combined in one person.

The arts of the magician and many religious rituals are meant to create an atmosphere of suggestibility. In the case of religion the atmosphere is augmented by the character of architecture, dim lighting and incense burning, priestly robes and ancient and unknown languages in which prayers are uttered, often in a sing-song manner.

The technique of both magic as well as religion is ritualistic. The entire performance is governed by a traditional order which must be strictly followed, otherwise the efficacy of the rite is lost. The veil between the two is very thin indeed. A slight change in the formulation of words may convert a magical formula into religious prayer.

Magic is often associated with *fetishism*. According to this belief certain objects are regarded to be possessed of powers to help man out of various difficulties, or in achieving his desires. Such objects are called *fetishes*; it may be a feather, a skull or an amulet. Its test is its efficacy.

We have also already referred to taboo as negative magic. However, before we proceed, it must be pointed out that it would be more correct to relate taboo to rituals, religious as well as magical, than to magic. In fact, one of the prime functions of taboo is to maintain *ritual* (*religious*) *purity*; and it may now be considered.

Taboo. Like totem, taboo is not an English word; it has been derived from the Polynesian *tabu* meaning 'to forbid' and 'forbidden'. Taboo is used to designate all the restrictions, communicated through verbal 'Don't do's', and generally associated with ritualistic behaviour, which a member of a primitive society has to submit to. The question, therefore, arises as to why primitives show so much regard for a verbal injunction? In other words, what is the sanction behind taboo which instils in the mind of its would-be violator a cramping fear of punishment?

Taboo has been called the unwritten law of savage society, but society does not deal with cases of violation. The culprit himself becomes the chastizer and thus taboo avenges itself when violated. The culprit fears a calamity; therefore, taboo may be said to have a supernatural, or magical sanction behind it. It is also believed that the thing or action tabooed has a *mana* of its own. Wundt says that there must be some spiritual power inherent in taboo. The neo-Freudians explain that it is out of the objectified fear of demoniac power thought to be concealed in the tabooed object that taboo arises.

The aim of taboo appears to be to limit an individual to the norms of his society. Therefore, it is society which is vitally affected by the observance or non-observance of taboo, yet the initiative always rests, to a certain extent, with the individual.

The woof and warp of magical beliefs and practices is made up of positive and negative strands, and taboo is the latter. Its purpose is threefold: productive, protective and prohibitive. Taboos associated with the process of cultivation are designed to be productive; those like keeping women, children and, in cases, men also away from certain places, actions and objects are protective; and those which seclude a person or limit contact with him or her, as is done in the case of a chief, a priest, a magician or a menstruating woman, are designed to be prohibitive in the sense that they prohibit the persons tabooed from doing harm to others. Protective and prohibitive taboos are almost always the same.

Various kinds of typical taboos have been found to be associated with totemism. These were explained by Freud by referring them to ambivalence, a pathological state of mind which includes mutually contradictory sub-psychical states. There is on the one hand the desire to do what should not be done, and on the other hand there is simultaneously the realization that such a thing should not be done. Conflict of this nature explains, Freud says, the origin of all taboos.

Freud says that the Oedipus Complex (the desire to kill one's father, marry one's own mother and then later repent over it) underlies the protection of the totemic animal and the practice of exogamy. The totemic animal or vegetable ancestor is like one's father, and therefore the danger of its being killed or eaten by the sons has to be precluded; also, the sons must not be allowed to marry their mothers, and hence the totemic taboos. These have been classified into two main categories: taboos which forbid the killing and eating of the totem and those which forbid certain forms of endogamous marriages.

Radcliffe-Brown, who, as it has been already said, always seeks sociological explanations for social phenomena, has tried to place taboo among those various social mechanisms by which an orderly society is able to maintain itself in existence. This is said to be made possible by the fact that these social mechanisms like taboo (and totemism and kinship usages) help in establishing some of those fundamental social values which are vital to social survival. Radcliffe-Brown has emphasized the significance of the symbolism involved in rituals connected with both taboo as also totemism, the function of which symbolism is said to be the expression and maintenance of the solidarity of society.

TRIBAL RELIGIONS IN INDIA

Till about twenty years back, tribal religions in India were termed as *animism* in various census reports and books. By animism was implied that exceedingly crude form of religion in which magic is the predominant element. It conceives of man as passing through a life surrounded by the ghostly company of powers and elements, mostly impersonal in their character. Some of these are regarded as presiding 'forces' over the various 'departments' of life, each 'force' having its sphere of influence. Thus, there may be a spirit presiding over various diseases, spirits dwelling in rocks and mountains, haunting trees or associated with rivers and waterfalls and so on. These are diligently propitiated to ward off the dangers associated with their influence. Among the Korwa there is a spirit presiding over crops, one over rainfall, one over cattle; and besides, there are several spirits which dictate the attitude of the Korwa towards their neighbours, towards the priests, and the headman of the affairs of the tribe. Thus, animism carries with it a belief in benevolent as well as malevolent spirits which are supposed to influence the destiny of man. The former generally go unattended, as no one is afraid of them. Thus, for instance, the great sun-god, Singbonga, of the Munda is seldom worshipped as he is benign and does not harm anyone. This is a typical trait of primitive religions; they are more concerned with evil forces, fears and frustrations.

Whereas it is true that this association of tribal religions in India with animism exists, it is not the whole truth. It was left to Hutton to reclaim these religions from the 'waste-paper basket' of animism. He, as some others before him had done, advocated the replacement of the term *animism* by *tribal religions.* He found it difficult, on the basis of evidence from all over India, to draw a sharp line of distinction between Hinduism and tribal religions. Not that the two were not regarded as different by him but that he found that the two fuse and grade into each other. He is the author of the aptly famous statement to the effect that the tribal religions represent a kind of surplus material which has not yet been built into the temple of Hinduism. He finds this material very similar to the material already used in building up post-Vedic Hinduism.

Elwin also has in his various monographs and booklets pointed out the futility of distinguishing between tribal religions and Hinduism. Ghurye has gone so far as to suggest that the tribal population of India represents only a backward section of Hindus and that they should be designated, not as animists or aboriginals, but as backward Hindus. This would be going too far, as differences between Hinduism and tribal religions are very deep in many ways. However, aboriginal people have come into contact with Hindus, proseletyzing Christian missionaries and other urban influences. The result of these contacts has often been disastrous so far as their religions are concerned. As Elwin has pointed out, tribal people are always willing to worship a few more gods if by doing so they can enjoy some material or social advantages. The consequence of these contacts and the weak resilience of tribal religions has been the present 'marginal' character of tribal religions. The tribal religions represent today 'marginal religions', a no-man's land between magic and religion, between pseudo-science and science.

Hutton has listed the various important elements of tribal religions in India. Thus, he refers to the theory of soul matter as a fertilizer of the crops and a producer of life generally; head-hunting, human sacrifice and cannibalism, all probably due to the belief in the efficacy of soul matter; cults of the dead like, for instance, the megalithic monuments and wooden images of the dead; some sort of a life and a world hereafter; some form of the reincarnation of the soul theory; and totemism.

Bongaism. Belief in *mana*, according to some anthropologists, is the beginning of religion. It is a supernatural power and exists as a quality or attribute of objects. Such a religious complex of beliefs has been found among the Munda, the Ho and other cognate tribes of Chota Nagpur. They use the term *bonga* to designate this power and quality.

Among the Ho the *bonga* are vaguely understood as powers indefinite and impersonal; they do not seem to have any objective appearance or existence. The overall supremacy of the *bonga* over Munda life shows only the extent of anthropomorphism. The impersonal *bonga* use the medium of dreams to foretell, day-dreams being used for fore-warning about bad things. *Bonga* is the manifestation of a vague supernatural power, one that is the cause of all energy. The cycle has of late become a *bonga*, the powerful steam engine is a *bonga*, and the aeroplane is a greater *bonga* than any of the above.

Differences between individuals, differences of power, prestige and so on are regarded to be due to the degree of the *bonga* power possessed by a person. Anything that is new, requires a new adjustment, and anything that upsets the personality-environment adjustment is a *bonga*. Tradition and myth may also separate certain things and animals as not parts of the environment, to which man adapts himself. These may then become the *bonga*.

The Fall of Tribal Gods. It has already been pointed out that, due to contact with non-tribal peoples, many a tribal group has changed its religious life. The results of such contacts have in certain cases given a fresh lease of life to a tribal group by providing it with better tools of adaptation. Roy has spoken of the advantages that have accrued to the tribal people of Chota Nagpur and adjacent areas as a result of contact with Hinduism and Christianity. But it is also true that such contacts have in numerous cases led to tribal disorganization. Mills and C. von Fürer-Haimendorf have pointed out the strains to which the Naga converted to Christianity are subjected. Elwin has drawn attention to a loss of nerve which seems to have overtaken some Middle Indian tribes.

A typical example of Hinduization is supplied by the Gond, of Central India. Writing about the Muria Gond, Elwin says that theirs is a religion with close affinity to the Shaivite section of Hinduism, yet, at the same time, it retains its own special 'flavour', retaining its individuality as a characteristic faith, a logical entity which can be described and recognized. It acknowledges a large number of deities whom it pictures in a simple and homely manner. It has a definite priesthood and a body of mediums who communicate with the gods while in a state of trance. Shrines and temples as also huts for the dead are erected. Sacrifices and sacramental meals are often held. There are purificatory ceremonies and religious protection against witchcraft and warlock. Religion pervades all the aspects of Muria tribal life; links God and men, and the living and the dead in one group; and is the source of ethical life. There is no sacred book, canon, pantheon or liturgy. The Muria attitude towards the gods is ambivalent, being a blend of familiarity, affection and abuse. This religion anticipates Hinduism, being a simple, childlike version of it. It is a religion on which Hinduism has had an energizing and fertilizing effect.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boas, F. (ed.), *General Anthropology* (New York, 1938), Chapter on Religion by R. Benedict.

Bouquet, A. C., *Comparative Religion* (Pelican, A 89), Chapters I to V.

Ghurye, G. S., *The Aborigines—So-called—and Their Future* (Poona: Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, 1943), Chapter I.

Herskovits, M. J., *Man and His Works*, Chapters XXI and XXII.

Hutton, J. H., *Caste in India* (Cumberledge, 1951), Appendix B.

Karsten, R., *The Origins of Religion* (London: Kegan Paul Trench, Trubner & Co., 1935).

Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924).

Malinowski, B., *Magic, Science and Religion* (Boston and Glencoe, Ill., 1948).

Marrett, R. R., *The Threshold of Religion* (New York, 1914).

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *Function and Structure in Primitive Society* (London: Cohen & West, 1952), Chapter VIII.

Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II.

CHAPTER XI

ART

Introducing art: definition of art; art in relation to the individual and his society; style and genius; evolution of art. Pre- and proto-historic art: in Europe; in India. Art in contemporary primitive society: theoretical background; art among Indian tribes.

INTRODUCING ART

WHAT IS ART? Ever since his emergence nearly three-quarters of a million years ago, man has in a sense proclaimed his uniqueness in the animal kingdom through some of his distinctive capabilities highest among which must rank his ability to conceptualize, i.e. to evolve and express his thoughts, not merely about concrete phenomena and concrete feelings, but also about abstract ideas and yearnings. We have already pointed out how it must have been absolutely impossible for man to live by himself, outside some kind of a society; and it is equally impossible to imagine men living in society without evolving some common notions of the prescriptions and the prohibitions, of the right and the wrong, and of the beautiful and the ugly. Properly understood, the beautiful and the ugly are the right and the wrong, or the prescription and the prohibition in the sphere of artistic, or æsthetic activity. This activity is an individual's attempt to give expression to his adjustment to the ideal of beauty as it is conceived by his society. Beauty is a quality which may belong to concrete phenomena as well as to abstract thoughts and images. It is an attribute suggestive of a harmony of constituent elements, a rhythm and regularity and a formal design which all blend together to evoke self-satisfying emotional responses. The constituent elements of an art product are lines, or surfaces, or colour, or all these three together; or sounds and words, suggestive of harmony, or melody, or both; or rhythmic movements, often accompanied by harmonic sounds of musical instruments and the melody of words sung.

Art gives happiness to him who experiences it with his senses and intuition. In the creation and enjoyment of art, instinct and intuition, as also emotion and imagination, reign supreme, although the role of the individual mind, in the truly original creator's case, is no less important. It has been said, among others by Herbert Read, that the true office of art is the cultivation of instinct and intuition as ways of knowing and understanding, and that, therefore, art makes contributions to knowledge similar, and perhaps superior to those of the sciences.

Art, Individual and Society. The creative artist is an individual; and the enjoyment which is derived from art accrues to the individual, connoisseur, or enthusiast, or layman. Commenting upon the award to him of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1954, Ernest Hemingway, distinguished American novelist, was reported to have said that social recognition seldom came the way of the great artist, and that it was a happy thing that that should be so, for the truly great artist had to live alone in order to be able to face eternity in its fullness and always. The alternative, if he the great artist became overwhelmingly socialized, would be to lose touch with eternity by being seized by society.

An individual artist, like Hemingway, is likely to overemphasize the isolation which creates art and artists. But the social scientist cannot but point out the inadequacy of such a viewpoint. The artist does not make an absolute withdrawal from society; he takes social values, metaphysical concepts, knowledge about traditions and styles, some techniques and material apparatus with him. Nor does he make an eternal withdrawal; he returns to society to receive recognition and reward for his artistic efforts, which become achievement in the full sense only when others bestow their acceptance upon them. Generally speaking, art begins in society, and ends in it; but when a truly original artist is at work, then it begins in society, pauses in him, and then ends in society. It is for the truly original artist to change and transform what society offers him and then create new tastes and values of artistic production and appreciation.

Byron has written in his famous poem 'Childe Harolde's Pilgrimage' that the great artist who seeks to portray ideals suffers from self-created illusions and creates artistic representations which have no originals.

> 'Of its own beauty is the mind diseased,
> And fevers into false creation: . . . '
> (Canto IV, Stanza CXXII).

What Byron says is not true, for wherefrom does the artist's mind learn to create false illusions? It is his society with its values and ideals that makes him susceptible to such 'illusions', which are really the ideals held up by society for the guidance of the individual. In short, the social genesis of art cannot be underestimated. And it is not the social environment alone which leaves its stamp on all artistic productions, but the geographical, climatic and economic conditions also condition the quality and the content, the mood and the medium, and the mode of expression of an artist's creative activity. A desert-dweller, with no outside contacts, could never know wood-carving, nor a man who had never seen hills portray the solidity of a rock, or the majesty of baldness so typical of bare mountain tops.

The degree in which specialization has come to characterize modern society has carved out an independent role for the artist as for everybody else, giving him some independence from dependence on other social roles. But in primitive society, generally lacking in specialization, the artist's role is an extension of the craftsman's or the priest's or the magician's roles. Artistic activity is oftener concerned with the production of objects, or ideas (in song and story) which have some utility than with pure, non-utilitarian artistic creativity. Not that art for art's sake is unknown; in all small communities various aspects of society are integrated and hang together, leaving no scope for economic, religious, or artistic activity by itself. All activities are integrated in the broad stream of utilitarian social activity. Works of art in primitive society do not only embody the social structure, as they do in modern society, but also possess a more immediate social utility. Art in primitive society is of the people and for the people. Besides, experiment, innovation, reinterpretation and originality are not sought after. The artist's joy lies not in creating new ideas and styles but in reproducing those that already exist. Consequently art in primitive society is more thoroughly social in its character than art in modern society.

Style. Closely connected with the social genesis of art are art styles. A style consists of the traditional or the conventional ideas regarding the execution and expression of some formal arrangements or designs. The formal character of all art is quite obvious, as art depends for appeal upon some kind or other of a formal arrangement of straight lines or curves, of reliefs and carved surfaces, of sound and colour, of rhyme and rhythm and so on. When a particular design is created and finds social acceptance, it becomes a fashion, and in due course of time an established style, through its propagation or specialization. Therefore, art styles arise, and are changed, because art is a social activity, and because society is the framework within which an individual artist works. The joy of creativity arises out of its becoming manifest, and its being seen, appreciated and copied.

Genius. If art styles are born out of a social *milieu* in which they also flourish and die out, and if even the most individualistic of artistic creations only supersede earlier ideas and styles, being themselves rooted in the social structure of values—if the success of an innovator consists in his ability to create taste and have himself imitated, then it is quite obvious that artistic geniuses are the products of a social *milieu*, and genius is a function of oportunity for, and appreciation of artistic effort provided by a society. It is true that great masters have not been always apreciated in their own time, but undoubtedly the times and places to which they belonged were responsible for their having gone so far as to be able to achieve what they did. Genius in art has no obviously-latent deep connection with biological factors like genes which may be inherited, or acquired through mutation. However, it must be admitted that a very high degree of sensitivity, of the ability to submit one's self intensely to all kinds of emotional experiences, of imagination, and also of the ability to synthesize perceptions with abstract ideas, and thoughts with emotions are all essential in the making of a great artist. But these seeds can never flourish and blossom except in the proper type of artistic climate. The cultural heritage of a society has much to do with the presence or absence of artistic geniuses in it. Kroeber, the distinguished anthropologist, in his study of the flowering and decline of the cultural creativity of a people, during a time-period, tries to comprehend the trends by looking into the number and quality of creative geniuses whom he obviously regards as representatives of cultural trends rather than as individuals. The presence or absence of a galaxy of high-quality creative geniuses, of course in all fields of cultural activity, is regarded by Kroeber as indicative of flowering and decline respectively of the cultural tradition under study.

Evolutionary Theories of Art. In the foregoing paragraphs several references have been made to change and transformation of art styles; and in this connection it is interesting to note that various evolutionists have tried to lay down laws on how the evolution of art takes place and through what stages. Thus there is the theory that in prosperous societies art begins in a *formative*, and passes through *archaic*, *mature*, and *flamboyant* stages to decline in a last *decadent* stage. Mayan sculpture and Peruan Nasca pottery are said to follow a sequence of the type just outlined.

Stolpe denied geometric art to primitive societies, saying that even when primitive man employs geometric representations they are not understood by him to be geometric, but instead to be concrete representations. Realistic representation is the truly primitive style.

Similar to Stolpe's thesis is A. C. Haddon's well-known hypothesis on the evolution of art styles (already referred to in Chapter II). He said that art styles *originate* as *realistic* portrayal, *evolve* into *geometric representation* through a process of *progressive simplification*, and *finally become* highly *symbolic* by *over-conventionalization*, and *decay*. According to Haddon any deviations from this 'normal' sequential development that ever arose were born out of the incapacity of an individual artist or the unsuitability of materials used by, or available to him.

To prove his hypothesis Haddon gave detailed illustrations, one of the best-known of them being his interpretation of arrows, collected from the Torres Straits, which were embellished with carved-out figures of crocodiles. Haddon, with a crude naivety, typical of early evolutionists, arranged these arrows in order of the conventionalization of the figures carved on them, and held up the sequence as proof of his realism-through geometric representation-to symbolic form hypothesis. This was no proof at all because the various arrows were sequentially arranged in utter disregard of their having been manufactured in the same time-period.

Evidence is available to show that art styles in textiles and basket-making begin with geometric or symbolic representations and attain realism only when techniques of weaving have been so fully mastered as to enable the weaver to weave a definite pattern into a fabric, or a basket, independent of the basic weaving pattern forced upon him by the need of producing a fabric, or a basket.

Thus techniques, and not any inherent trends of growth, may determine an evolutionary sequence. Then there is diffusion and borrowing ever ready to work havoc with unilinear evolution and inherent trends. The genesis of art being social, its growth cannot be independent of the socio-cultural background. Generalizations about regional styles may be arrived at empirically, but no *a priori* universal laws about how art styles evolve can be deduced.

PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORIC ART

In Europe. The earliest evidence of genuine pre-historic art available to us goes back about thirty thousand years.

It was at the beginning of the upper-palaeolithic period of Western Europe, in the times contemporaneous with Aurignacian industries, that the palaeolithic Europeans engaged in artistic creativity which has endured till this day to elicit the praise and admiration of modern art connoisseurs. In between the Aurignacian and the Magdalenian industrial-periods there was a kind of an interregnum contemporaneous with Solutrean industries. The main contributions of the Aurignacian industrial-period were statuettes and figurines of the female figure, the most famous among them being the one from Austria called the 'Venus of Willendorf' by modern art connoisseurs. It is a semi-realistic representation of a woman; the head with hair is well-marked, though without details; arms are disproportionately lean, and the legs do not go far beyond the knees; but the abdomen, the bust, and the thighs are disproportionately over-sized.

Portraiture in relief and representation of birds were the main contributions of the Solutrean industrial-period, during which artistic development did not on the whole make much progress.

With the Magdalenian industrial-period we come face to face with artistic achievement which must compel admiration for its quality, diversity and quality. Mono- and poly-chrome paintings, realistic and symbolic, original and conventional are the highlights of Magdalenian art.

In all, six types of artistic productions have been so far discovered and assigned to the upper palaeolithic times of Europe. These are: (1) statuettes, (2) engravings, (3) carvings, (4) reliefs, (5) silhouettes and (6) paintings.

These art products have been found in rock shelters, which must have been then used as homes, and also in caves which show no evidence of human habitation. Accordingly prehistorians, like Burkitt, have classified the upper palaeolithic art of Europe into home-art and cave-art. The main impulse underlying the former was perhaps ornamental and that underlying the latter magical. No hard-and-fast rules can be drawn up but it is generally accepted nowadays that all palaeolithic art was not magical. The over-abundance of animal figure *motifs* may have been as much due to magical purposes of ensuring increase in animal fertility and success in the hunt as to the simple fact of pre-occupation with animals in daily life. The female figurines and statuettes, generally carved out of stone, with the secondary erogenous zones, like the bust and the buttocks, highly exaggerated, are mainly the product of magical beliefs, but probably also of the special human concern with certain parts of the female body arising out of instincts and association.

These art products of high æsthetic quality were, therefore, born out of the twofold notion of art for life's sake as also for its own sake. To regard this ancient artistic activity as entirely aimless and the product of leisure would be as wrong as to regard it as having been born only out of magical beliefs regarding the ways of increasing human and animal fertility. The ornamentation of artifacts can hardly ever lend itself to such an explanation in terms of a magical matrix. Herbert Read has emphasized that primitive man was human and must have therefore enjoyed artistic creativity for its own sake as well. We may say that, those same human attributes which made the upper palaeolithic man in Europe conscious of art as a tool of the magician must have made him also conscious of it as the tool of the craftsman seeking to produce not only useful things but also beautiful things.

Towards the end of the Magdalenian industrial-period art became very conventionalized and impressionistic. Geometric representations of magical significance also are attributed to this period. Magdalenian art which represented the zenith of palaeolithic art in Europe eventually declined towards the close of the palaeolithic age, along with the rest of the culture-complex of which it was an aspect.

It may be pointed out here that European palaeolithic art does not follow any particular patterns of development which could be reduced to an evolutionary sequence. The female figurines, highly symbolic of maternity in view of the disproportionate exaggeration of the *secondary* sexual characteristics—breasts, abdomen and thighs—belong to the earlier Aurignacian period only. Likewise, representation of birds is typical of the intermediate Solutrean period only. Whereas the polychrome paintings of the culminating Magdalenian period are the high water-mark of realism in representation, they are contemporaneous with carved and engraved stones, bones and horns, the carvings and engravings being highly impressionistic. The most famous of these impressionistic products is the engraving of a reindeer herd, engraved by a Magdalenian master on the wing-bone of an eagle and found in France. It shows three reindeer at the head of what looks like a herd and one at its end, and in between only lines suggestive of horns and legs are shown. The total effect is that of a reindeer herd. This one is a great and justly famous art product with an abiding place in the history of art.

Post-palaeolithic art during the mesolithic industrial-period is of a degenerate quality confined mostly to engravings and painted pebbles which had probably only a magical significance. With the coming in of the neolithic industries came in pottery and textiles, which in turn brought in art in an exclusively pure form—as formal embellishment. Some art historians go further, and regard neolithic pottery designs as the *first instance* of art for art's sake.

In India. So far no evidence of man's artistic activities in palaeolithic India is available. Some paintings in rock shelters at Singhanpur (Raigarh district), in Madhya Pradesh, were formerly assigned by Mitra and others to the upper palaeolithic industrial period, but later investigations by Gordon revealed these paintings to be not more than 2500 years old.

Rock paintings and engravings have been found also in the Sone Valley (Mirzapur district) and at Manikpur (Banda district) in Uttar Pradesh, at Hoshangabad and Pachmari in Madhya Pradesh. Coloured paintings depicting bison and rhinoceros along with hunting scenes have been found in the Vijaygarh caves in Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh. These paintings have been compared to the upper palaeolithic art of Western Europe, but no conclusive evidence is available about their being so ancient as that. Competent authorities have refused to accept any of these paintings and engravings as belonging to prehistoric times.

It is interesting to note that various authorities have suggested that the resemblance between rock engravings at Ghatsila, in Bihar, and various Australian engravings may be indicative of ancient links between the two continents.

Representations of the giraffe, an animal now extinct in India, found at Hoshangabad in the rock shelters belong positively to the neolithic period.

The remains of the chalcolithic Indus Valley Civilization have yielded evidence of much artistic activity, including painted and engraved pottery, beads, jewellery, embellished and reshaped shells, brassware, statuettes, and seals depicting human figures, some of the depictions being positively mythological in character like horned deities and horned hunters and the famous unicorn, the one-horned bull. Notable among the statuettes is one of a dancing girl. Ornate toilet boxes were also in use. Models of animal figures in clay, toys, and a toy-cart, the type of which is found in contemporary India, have also been excavated. The use of textiles with trefoil designs is evident from the statues of the period.

ART IN CONTEMPORARY PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

Theoretical Background. Ethnocentrism dies hard, and many modern art historians and critics have found the art of contemporary primitives either childish or born out of superstition and magic. They have been able to see nothing ennobling in it and have instead characterized it as the product of those moments of primitive man's every-day life when he is more ape, or even animal, than man, whereas art in modern society is praised as indicative of the angelic divine potentialities in the life of modern man. Primitive art is supposed to be born out of the horror of life which is said to be ever-dominant in primitive man's life. The primitive artist like a trapped animal seeks escape; there is fear, horror, struggle and cruelty in his art. That so much of great modern art also is escapist is regarded as an irrelevant comparison because the escape of the modern artist is an ascent into the higher regions of the soul whereas the primitive artist's escape is a descent into depths of animality.

Besides, art for art's sake is denied to primitive society. Primitive man is supposed to be so entirely engaged in acquiring his means of subsistence that art for art's sake would be an impossible luxury. Art is regarded to be wholly utilitarian and that mainly from the magico-religious point of view.

Firth has admirably summed up the causes which underlie modern man's inability to understand the art of his backward contemporary. These causes are: *one*, the metaphysical as also the concrete content of primitive art is not familiar to modern man; *two*, the racial arrogance of modern man makes him look down upon his primitive contemporary as mentally underdeveloped, and arrive at the *a priori* judgment that, all said and done, primitive art is no more deserving of attention than the artistic creativity of children is; *three*, the alacrity to condemn the primitives' knowledge, religion, morals, social customs, economic organization et cetera predisposes one to make a biased appraisal of their art; and *four*, the preponderance of non-naturalistic representations in primitive art. Here it may be pointed out that there are some modern expressionists and surrealists who have highly praised the symbolic content of primitive art.

Regarding primitive art being wholly magico-religious in character, this is a viewpoint born of an inadequate understanding of the social significance of primitive art, and has been already controverted by distinguished anthropologists like the late Ruth Benedict and well-known art critics like Herbert Read. Benedict has emphasized that history affords us numerous examples of art and religion developing independent of each other. In her book *Patterns of Culture* she shows that among the Pueblos, of South-West America, both art and religion are highly developed but the art products associated with rituals are shoddy, and incomparably inferior to the art-designs of their pottery and textiles. Herbert Read also has drawn our attention to the growth of a highly secular Mohammedan art in Spain where Christian religious art also flourished, making it impossible to derive a causal relation between religion and art.

Art in primitive society, just as in modern, is not entirely a quality of things and objects which are otherwise prized, independent of their artistic value. Artistic activity is one of the four basic types of human social activity, to which we have referred in the opening pages of this book, and not an appendage of one, or two, or all of the first three types.

According to E. R. Leach primitive art products are used in religious ceremonial, in decorating personal possessions, and in raising memorials for the celebrated dead. Thus the purpose of primitive art is both religious as well as secular. It is also both utilitarian as well as ornamental, i.e. purely artistic. However, pure art, the art of embellishment, is seldom bestowed by primitive man on objects which have no other value. Primitive art is not an appendage of religion or economic activity, nor is it divorced from life; it is part and parcel of life, an autonomous activity integrated within the totality of social behaviour.

In the artistic activities of our primitive contemporaries the following types find a universal distribution:

(1) Plastic and graphic arts,
(2) Oral literature, and
(3) Music and dance.

Plastic and graphic arts include (*a*) carving and engraving of designs of various types, realistic and geometric, in stone, wood, ivory, bone, metals and other materials; (*b*) sculpture in metals, bone, wood and stone; (*c*) clay modelling and toy making; (*d*) paintings of all types, including murals, wall- and floor-paintings and painting on pottery, textiles and hides; (*e*) weaving of patterns into textiles and basketry; (*f*) tattooing; and (*g*) personal ornamentation, including dress and hair styles.

Oral literature includes folk-tales, folk-songs, riddles, proverbs, myths and common sayings.

Music and dance include various types of instrumental and vocal music, and also various types of dances, as also dance-dramas.

According to several writers all types of art share some common features. These are: *one*, a tradition, or heritage, which provides the impulse; *two*, a body of art-*motifs*, norms and material apparatus which make possible the execution of art; *three*, canons of appraisal; *four*, emphasis on practice as the main way of attaining mastery; and *five*, an implicit permission to innovate. But the exact filling-in of the outline provided by these common features differs from one art type to another, as also from one people (cultural tradition) to another. Therefore, in the study of art the only attitude that can ensure scientific objectivity is that of *culture relativism*, i.e. of accepting the possibility of beauty having as many manifestations as there are cultures. However, in the ultimate analysis, the excellence of an art product is higher to the degree to which it is able to transcend local colourations, to the extent it is able to transcend local social values and embody some universal truths and values. Judged functionally, i.e. in terms of responsiveness to immediate needs, primitive art is as good as modern art is; but judged from the point of view of great art being an embodiment of universal values, it does not come up to the standard often enough. However, this is as may be expected because the socio-economic and intellectual conditions in which primitive man lives deny him a universal vision. The wonder is not why primitive art does not attain a universal aesthetic appeal oftener, but why modern art does not attain it.

Art in Tribal India. Not much attention has been devoted to a scientific study of the artistic efforts of the Indian tribes (for reasons that need not be discussed here). However, whatever data we have reveal that in these tribes we have all the various types of art which were listed in the foregoing section. But, and this is the pity of it, tribal arts are on the decline everywhere in India because of confused judgments. Open condemnation of tribal cultures, or an implicit disapproval conveyed through 'uplift' movements have induced in the minds of the Indian tribal folk a distrust in, and in some cases even a distaste for their cultural traditions. The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, has on many occasions given expression to his resentment of the activities of those so-called social workers who condemn all merry-making in the tribal villages of India. Since drinking is harmful and dancing and singing are associated with it, dancing and singing do not become pernicious and are not to be rooted out. There is such richness in the folk-music and the folk-dances of India as can enrich and inspire the efforts of the most advanced of India's modern artists. It is good to note that dance and music performances by invited representatives of various Indian tribes now form a regular item of the official programme for the annual Republic Day celebrations at New Delhi. There is so much in the everyday life of the Indian tribal folk that requires to be changed: there is poverty, disease and ignorance. But there is so much in it that has to be preserved and nourished for the good of the country as a whole, and that includes tribal art in all its forms.

In the myths and folk-tales heard in the tribal villages of the country is enshrined, in a poetic and imaginative garb, the philosophy of these simple folks. 'How the world evolved' is the most common myth-*motif*. Every tribe has several myths, often mutually contradictory, about its origin. In these myths gods and men live together in an amoral world. But there are other types of myths the sole function of which is to compel obedience to social customs by pointing out how so-and-so was punished by the supernatural powers for such-and-such offence. The world of vegetation, the animal kingdom and man's dependence on these supply the subject matter for many myths current among the Indian tribes.

The Ho believe in the following widespread myth about their origin: The self-created *Sing-bonga* and *Oteborom* made the earth with grass and trees. Next they created animals, those ones first which were meant for domestication, and the wild ones later. A boy and girl were then created and put together in a cave to bring forth progeny. They were too innocent and would not copulate; therefore, *Sing-bonga* taught them how to prepare *illi* (rice-beer) which excites the passions. *Illi* had its effects on them and in course of time they brought forth twelve sons and twelve daughters. When all these children had been born, *Sing-bonga* prepared a feast at which the flesh of buffaloes, bullocks, goats, sheep, pigs, and fish and fowls and vegetables were served. *Sing-bonga* divided the twenty-four siblings into twelve pairs of brother and sister and asked each pair to choose the kind of food it wanted for sustenance before starting out into the world. The first pair chose the flesh of bullocks and buffaloes and they became the originators of the Ho and the Bhumij. Those pairs who chose vegetables became the progenitors of the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas; those who chose fish and goat became the ancestors of the Sudras; those who chose shellfish gave birth to the Bhuiya; and the ancestors of the present day Santhal were those who chose the pigs. One pair got nothing and seeing this the Ho gave them their surplus, and the descendants of this pair became the Ghasi, who have for long worked as menials in Ho villages.

There are various versions of this myth. According to one of them the first human pair was born out of a swan's egg, but all their progeny were one day burnt to death by *Sing-bonga* in his fury. Later he repented on seeing the earth desolate, but was delighted to find that *Nage-bonga* (the water deity) had concealed a brother and sister under a sheet of water. The rest follows as in the first version.

Among the Kamar the myth of origin runs as under:

God Mahadeo was once so annoyed by a mad jackal that he ordered the destruction of the world. An old woman overheard the curse, told her husband about it, and the two together went to a forest and hastily improvised a house-boat and loaded it with all the necessities of life to last for twelve years. Then they placed their young son and daughter in the boat. Soon after a deluge overtook the world drowning the whole of mankind as also the earth. After twelve years Mahadeo's anger subsided and he sent out his attendants to re-create the world. The young boy and girl were discovered and Mahadeo adopted them as his children. Some earth was procured from the teeth of an earth-worm, and the earth created again. The adopted boy and girl were asked to people it. Mahadeo had to try several tricks before he could make the boy and girl engage in copulation. Several children were born out of the union, and their mother died soon after due to shame. Mahadeo divided these children into various pairs, and each pair became the progenitor of a caste or tribe.

The Hill Kharia say that in the beginning God created the sky, then the earth and then a pea-fowl. This fowl laid an egg, which burst. Out of the broken shell came forth the first Kharia, out of the white of the egg the first Purana, progenitor of a Hindu caste, and out of its yolk the ancestor of the ruling Bhanja family of Mayurbhanj. (Mayurbhanj has now been integrated with Orissa.)

Folk-tales are frankly imaginative and more entertaining than awe-inspiring. In fact, their main function appears to be entertainment. They are short like our short stories and long like our novels. They deal with human situations in which suspense, ghosts, genii, heroes and heroines have their due place. The stock of folk-tales in the world is supposed to be a limited one by some folklorists who have listed seventy basic *motifs* which are, of course, differently developed and expressed in various cultures. The story of Cinderella is found almost everywhere. It is the story of the step-daughter who in spite of her step-mother's and -sisters' harsh treatment succeeds in marrying the 'prince charming' through the aid of her own mother's spirit and that of birds and mice. About three hundred versions of this folk-tale have been recorded. Some years back, Dr. Irawati Karve reported in the pages of *Man* an Indian version of the Oedipus story which centres round a son's undeliberate murder of his father and marriage to his mother without knowing she is his mother, and later on, his remorse on finding out the facts. (This story received its immortal treatment at the hands of the great Greek tragedian Sophocles.)

Some of the basic *motifs* around which folk-tales are woven are: (*i*) the youngest wicked queen and the henpecked husband-king; (*ii*) the magic article by which the hero becomes omnipresent, all-powerful and invincible; (*iii*) a man living in the garb of an animal, or an animal living disguised as, generally, a beautiful woman; (*iv*) double souls, the important one being concealed in a bird, or animal, or tree; (*v*) the sphinx, the half-human, half-animal woman who challenges people to solve riddles; (*vi*) finding of treasures or the elixir of life by overhearing bird language and so on.

One of the Ho folk-tales runs, briefly, as follows:

Buidu Bura the cultivator was about to kill the rat he found in his field when the rat implored him to spare his life in return for lifelong gratitude and service. Buidu Bura agreed and took him home. He was being constantly robbed of his fowls and garden produce by foxes. So the rat started roaming about among them and finding out their plans. Later on he would reveal these plans to Bura and also devise ways of fighting back the foxes. But the foxes would think out new plans and Buidu Bura's harassment was getting beyond bearable proportions when the rat thought of a clever plan and with the help of Bura and Bura's wife put it into execution and succeeded in killing all the foxes. Buidu Bura, his wife and the rat lived together happily ever after.

Poetry, dramatic stories and music generally go together. All kinds of poetry have been found among the Indian tribes; they have lullabies, nonsense rhymes, devotional songs, love lyrics, satiric verses and epic ballads. They have seasonal songs, marriage songs, dance songs, hunting songs, incantations, and funeral chants. Songs are sung in solos, in duets and also in choruses.

Riddles, proverbs and sayings also are common among all tribes. They are the 'spice' of every language.

Tribal dances like the *karma* of the Gond and the *bihu* of the Assam tribes are justly famous, so is tribal music.

Among the musical instruments used by Indian tribes mention may be made of drums of various types, pipes, flutes, horns, anklets, brass-plates, *kartal*, *jhanjh*, etc.

Within the range of graphic and plastic arts among Indian tribes mention may be made of painting; wooden and stone sculpture and statuettes. Decoration of the human body is a pleasing artistic activity, executed by using elaborately decorated clothes as also ornaments and cowries, by scarification and tattooing. Embellishment of dresses, combs, head-dresses (the bison-horn Maria Gond's majestic head-dress is perhaps without parallel anywhere), and tobacco-cases is common. Art is also bestowed on hair-pins used by brides, marriage-posts, marriage-litters, metallic lampstands used at marriages, and marriage-crowns. The representations of demons, dummies and other products of fantasy are also artistically produced. However, gods do not generally come in for artistic representation. Funerary pillars and memorial tablets are art products all over tribal India; so are the doors of dormitories wherever these are to be found and the doors of the chief's house in some tribes. Walls and doors, and even floors are decorated. These decorations often acquire highly stylized and conventionalized forms. Stools, chairs and cots (only those not in normal everyday use in Middle India) also come in for decoration through engraving. Totemic flags and emblems are always products of artistic effort. Conventional as also realistic representations of the human figure are quite common. Erogenous zones receive special attention, although sexual congress is not a favourite or a common *motif* as it was in ancient Hindu art. Contact with Europeans has led to the erection of the figures of Sahibosum and his wife in several tribal villages in Middle India. In dances musical instruments and masks are widely used. Whereas the former receive artistic embellishments the latter are entirely products of art. Animals, birds and hunting scenes are also depicted in painting or in engraving. Textiles, basketry and pottery come in for occasional ornamentation. Articles of normal everyday use, like cots, pottery and grain-huskers are generally not artistically decorated in Middle India. The material apparatus at the disposal of the Middle Indian tribes in their day-to-day life is very limited; unlike the Naga who have drinking-mugs, these Middle Indian tribal folk do not have even ordinary cups. The Naga are also known to decorate their weapons of war and the human heads they capture as only befits a trophy.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, L., *Primitive Art* (Pelican, 1949).

Archer, W. G., *The Blue Grove* (On Oraon poetry), (London, 1940).

The Vertical Man, (On Ahir wooden sculpture), (London, 1947).

Benedict, R., "Folklore" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VI (1931).

Boas, F., "Literature, Music, and Dance" in F. Boas, *General Anthropology* (New York, 1939).

Primitive Art (Irvington-on-Hudson, 1951).

Bunzel, R., "Art" in F. Boas, *General Anthropology.*

Elwin, V., *The Tribal Art of Middle India* (Oxford, 1951).

Tribal Myths of Orissa (Oxford, 1954).

Firth, R., *Elements of Social Organization* (London: Watts, 1951), Chapter V.

Herskovits, M. J., *Man and His Works,* Chapters 23, 24 and 25.

Jacobs, M., and B. J. Stern, *General Anthropology* (New York, 1952), Chapters XI, XII, XIII, and XIV.

Leach, E. R., "Aesthetics" in E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Institutions of Primitive Society* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1954).

Read, Herbert, *Art and Society* (London: Faber and Faber, 1946), Introduction and Chapter I.

CHAPTER XII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Definition of economic activity; growth of types of economic organizations through the prehistoric times; Thurnwald's classification of economic organizations with Indian examples; classifications given by other writers including Herskovits and Forde. The nature of primitive economies; sexual division of labour; property in primitive economies. Economies of Indian tribes: food-gathering, agriculture, shifting axe-cultivation, handicrafts, pastoralism and industrial labour. Notes on the economic life of the Kadar, the Toda and the Ho.

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION

TO BEGIN with we must have a definite notion of what we mean by economic organization. Stated briefly, it consists of the ordering and organization of human relations and human effort in order to procure as many of the necessities of day-to-day life as possible with the expenditure of minimum effort. It is the attempt to secure the maximum satisfaction possible through adapting limited means to unlimited ends (needs) in an organized manner. This definition holds good for any, prehistoric, primitive, or modern society. Only the conception of what is regarded as necessary for life, and what a luxury, differs. In this connexion it has been observed that primitive economic organizations are of the subsistence type; that is, they fall into the broad category of production-consumption economies. With the accumulation of an economic surplus, human attention is increasingly devoted not only to various material needs other than food, sex and shelter, but also to the refinement of the manner in which these three primary, and other derived and secondary, needs are satisfied. These latter types of economies are called the production-consumption-distribution type.

In the study of the types of economic organization found among various primitive societies of contemporary times, it is instructive for anthropologists to look for the inferences drawn by prehistorians with regard to the economic life of prehistoric times. In fact, the emphasis on material conditions is so prominent in the prehistorians' studies that their entire picture of prehistoric man and his life is in terms of his food quest. Going to the prehistorians, we find that they give a picture of economic life which neatly fits in with the pattern of contemporary primitive economies as investigated into by ethnographers. We are told that in palaeolithic times man was a hunter, a fisherman, and a collector of edible roots, herbs, fruits, etc. Later on, with the neolithic revolution, when animals and plants were domesticated, agriculture and patoralism became the foundations of prehistoric economies. Still later, with the discovery of metals, the organization of economic life underwent radical changes, the consequences of which are generally summed up as urban economies. Contemporary primitive economies are very similar to those of prehistoric times. This will be clear when we look at the various types of economic life listed by Thurnwald, some of which concern us directly. They are:

1. Homogeneous communities of men as hunters and trappers, women as collectors. The Kadar, the Chenchu, the Kharia, the Korwa are some of the Indian tribes falling into this category.
2. Homogeneous communities of hunters, trappers and agriculturists. The Kamar, the Baiga and the Birhor are examples of this type from tribal India.
3. Graded society of hunters, trappers, agriculturists and artisans. Most of the tribes in India fall under this category. The Chero and the Agaria, among so many others, are famous as artisans.
4. The herdsmen. The Toda and some sections of the great Bhil tribe furnish classic examples in India.
5. Homogeneous hunters and herdsmen. This category is not represented among Indian tribes. The Toda do not hunt, nor do they catch fish or birds.

6. Ethnically stratified cattle-breeders and traders. The Bhotiya, of the sub-Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh, breed yaks and jibus (cross between yak and cow) and are itinerant traders; they come down to the plains in winter and go over the hills right up to Tibet in summer.

7. Socially graded herdsmen with hunting, agricultural and artisan population.

It must be pointed out here that the purpose behind the reference to prehistoric times, and the types listed by Thurnwald, is not to suggest an evolutionary scheme of economic development. In fact, it is not possible to trace such a step by step development in any case with certainty. Thus, we have a well-known description (by Firth) of the New Zealand Maori's economic organization, which at the present moment is agricultural; but a preceding pastoral stage cannot be posited as they never had any cattle.

Various classifications of economic organization have been given ever since Adam Smith talked about hunters, pastoralists and agriculturists. List added the categories of handicrafts and industrial pursuits to Smith's inventory to make it more comprehensive. Hildebrand gave a very useful classification of economic systems classified into those based on barter, money and credit. Grosse postulated an evolutionary scheme with the following stages of development: collectional economy, cultural nomadic economy, settled village economy, town economy and metropolitan economy.

Daryll Forde refutes the idea of economic stages for he does not believe that people live at economic stages and he finds no single exclusive economy but combinations of economies in the growth of cultures. Gordon Childe holds a similar opinion with regard to prehistoric economies. Both Forde and Herskovits agree to a fivefold division of economies: collection, hunting, fishing, cultivation and stock raising. Both agree that a people need not abandon one economy to adopt another.

Ehrenfels has suggested four economic types among the early human societies of South East Asia, viz., the food gatherers, higher hunters, plant cultivators and nomadic herdsmen. Most of the tribal people of India fall under the first and third of these categories.

THE NATURE OF PRIMITIVE ECONOMIES

As already indicated, economic activity is concerned with all such activities of man as are designed to secure him physical survival. The conception of physical survival gets extended according to whether the technological base is broad enough and if the habitat presses on man less closely. In any case, the basic function and problem of all economic systems is to maximize satisfactions through an economical allocation of various resources which are limited, for the satisfaction of various needs which are unlimited.

This above-mentioned basic similarity apart, economic systems differ more from each other than is generally recognized. These differences do not belong to the plane of function but arise out of structural dissimilarities. By structure, or organization, of economic activity is implied the internal order that obtains in the interrelations obtaining between those people who are participating in the economic pursuits, either as producers, or as consumers, or as distributors, or in some kind of a combination of all these roles. Some of the characteristic traits of primitive economic systems, as found in tribal India and elsewhere, are given below.

The exploitation of nature is carried on in the absence of technological aids and, therefore, inefficiently and inadequately, even wastefully, as is illustrated by shifting and axe-cultivation (described elsewhere in this chapter). Consequently, the bare minimum necessary for sustenance is raised with considerable difficulty. Only rarely does an economic surplus of any considerable magnitude emerge.

Money as a store and measurement of value and a medium of exchange is not as widely used in primitive society as in modern. Institutions like banking and credit, connected with money, are used only in dealings with non-tribal groups—and this depends upon the nature and frequency of contacts—intra-tribal economic relations are always based on barter and exchange.

The profit motive in economic dealings is generally absent. The role of an incentive is fulfilled by a sense of mutual obligation, sharing and solidarity.

Cooperative and collective endeavour has been hailed by some ethnographers as one of the main characteristics of the tribal economic organization in India. As Thurnwald and others have said, primitive societies show strongly developed features of communal economies.

The rate of innovation, internal or induced, is very low in these societies and consequently they are stabler and there is little of quick progress. Stability and uniformity result also from the simplicity and uniformity of the techniques used.

The regular market as an institution is absent. What comes nearest to it is the weekly market or the festival and seasonal meets. The conditions of a market, like perfect competition and monopoly, are consequently absent.

Most of the economic activities of a primitive people are directed towards the manufacture of consumption rather than production goods and the same are consumed rather than deposited or hoarded or exchanged in trade. Food, clothing and articles of shelter are everywhere the primary consumption goods.

Specialization based on specially acquired specific technical abilities is absent in all pre-urban societies. However, a division of labour, based on factors other than specialization, like sex for instance, is widely prevalent, and goes far back to the Neolithic Revolution, i.e., about 20 to 25 thousand years ago.

Sexual Division of Labour. In pre-urban societies, past and present, the only specialization permitted has been that based on the compulsion of physiological factors like, e.g., sex, infancy or old age, and bodily infirmity. Besides this basic recognition of physiological differences and their implications which are reflected in the division of labour in primitive societies, there have been extensions of this basic fact which have resulted in further compulsive factors decreeing a sexual division of labour. The inability to understand the variety of physiological processes connected with the healthy life of a woman, like menstruation and childbirth, have engendered a quizzical attitude, bordering on fear, and consequently the norm that women must engage in no sacred tasks, either only during their menstruation and pregnancy, or never at all. The pampered and well-treated Toda woman can never as much as touch a sacred buffalo or step into the dairy.

The association of women with infants has also imposed checks on them, preventing their full participation in the tasks of men. They have to take care of the infants and of cooking which naturally forces them to stay longer at home.

Although anthropologists like Ashley Montague have strongly criticised the belief that women are physically less suited to tasks generally done by men, because they are the weaker sex, such a belief is universal in primitive society. Therefore, bearing and rearing of children, looking after the home, periodic dangerous phases of life (menstruation and pregnancy), and general constitutional weakness (real or supposed) are the main factors which are found to underlie the sexual division of labour. Of course, whereas men never do the task specially assigned to women—the Toda man is one of the rare exceptions and cooks all such food in which milk and milk-products are used—women do undertake most of the tasks generally done by men. Women among Indian tribes gather food; engage in cultivation (sowing and harvesting); go fishing; make baskets, cloth and pots and so on. But, they never go hunting for big game, nor for felling trees, nor do they become blacksmiths or carpenters. Sorcerers have their feminine counterparts, the witches.

The impact of industrialization has affected both men and women. Tribal men work in iron and steel factories, in coal mines and tea gardens. Tribal women workers are engaged in mica and coal mines, in tea gardens, in quarries and so on.

Engaging menial labourers is unknown in tribal India; therefore, the division of labour between master and slave is unknown.

Property in Primitive Economies. In primitive society the notion of property is closely related to display and expenditure of wealth rather than to its accumulation. Among the Naga tribes the importance of giving feasts of merit is supreme in the acquisition of the prestige role of chieftainship. However, land, personal effects and certain intangible rights are owned as property.

The conception of property we are familiar with today is feudal or even more modern and historically later than the European feudal times. The important role which property plays in social life makes it influence the nature and form of social organization, but by itself it is no less dependent on social organization. As Lowie has indicated, conceptions of property have constantly shifted with the development of technology and changing moral ideas; and accordingly changes in the constituents of property may stem from technological, economic and ideological conditions. In short, it will be erroneous to apply to primitive society modern conceptions of property. Thus, in a food-gathering society there can be no property or any type of an economic surplus like cattle wealth. Among herdsmen there is no ownership of land. And so on. Therefore, it may be said that, rather than the accumulation of certain types of material culture only, property consists of certain privileges, which may include the privilege to destroy what one has.

Among primitive societies, we may, therefore, refer to material goods, movable and immovable and/or to privileges as property. Property is held jointly or individually. Herdsmen would hold the pastures jointly. Cultivators may own their lands jointly or independently. A very interesting variation is that of *multiple possessory rights* as reported from New Zealand, Melanesia and West Africa. Under this condition several possessors use the same thing, say land, for different purposes. Thus in Melanesia and West Africa a person can own trees growing on another's land, whereon the latter cultivates crops.

In whichever form property may be recognized, its recognition entails the existence of some rules of inheritance. Inheritance acquires particular importance when individuals possess property by themselves. In communal inheritance the group as a whole never ceases to exist suddenly as an individual does, and is replenished through fresh recruitment from time to time. Among the tribes of India both types of ownership are known, collective as well as individual, although, generally speaking, the emphasis nowadays is on individual ownership. However, there are instances, e.g. among the Naga, of villagers owning the lands of the village collectively.

As already explained elsewhere, inheritance laws may be patrilineal or matrilineal or some kind of a combination of both.

Economies of Indian Tribes

The vast number of tribal people, totalling up to nearly twenty million, who live in India are to be found at various levels of economic development, or rather under-development. Generally speaking, tribal economy in almost every case has been found to be mixed. The tribal stage does not provide for any specialization of functions and as such a variety of occupations are followed by a tribe. When a tribe takes to one specialized occupation it behaves like a caste as for example the Biyar and the Kharwar of Mirzapore have taken to the manufacture of catechu and are popularly known as the Khairahi.

The economic life of any Indian tribe cannot be described as a simple stage either of direct appropriation or of mere accidental collectors. The fact that a tribe uses all kinds of occupations to eke out its subsistence and combines hunting with honey gathering, lumbering with chase, shifting cultivation with the domestication of animals, shows the complexity of economic existence in the lower cultures.

An economic stage suggests a pause or a halt in the march of economic development followed by a push forward and not a continuous process of development. So long as these stages refer to actually existent conditions they are useful tools of description and classification. But they lose their scientific value if made to suggest an evolutionary sequence.

On the basis of racial, linguistic and geographical data, it is possible to locate Indian tribal communities in three geographical zones in the country. There is the north-eastern group, the middle (central) Indian group and the southern group. (The peripheral regions of these zones cover the remaining tribal groups of the country.) Such a threefold classification is further strengthened by economic grading. In the north-east terrace agriculture of a more or less settled kind is the dominant mode of economic pursuit. In the middle zone shifting axe cultivation is the method of agriculture. The economic organization of the tribes in the south is based on the elementary food-gathering stage. Shifting cultivation is also found to some extent in the north-eastern as well as the southern zones.

Among subsidiary occupations, hunting, fishing, basket making, and working as agricultural and industrial labour in certain areas may be mentioned. Certain tribal groups like the Pardhan obtain a living by taking to music and singing. Employment by the government to make roads or work in forests is also a regular mode of occupation for these tribal people.

Food Gathering. Among food-gathering tribes, we have the Birhor, the Kharia, the Chenchu, the Malapantaram, the Kadar, the Paliyan, the Paniyan, the Yanadi and the Kurumba.

About the Kadar it has been reported that they continue to be food gatherers and even shifting cultivation, known elsewhere in the zone as *jhuming*, is rarely practised. They collect fruits, edible roots and honey from the forest and combine the same with the fruits of hunting and of chase. All food gatherers are hunters and fishermen, hunting and fishing being, strictly speaking, forms of food gathering.

Agriculture. Statistics collected at the 1951 census reveal that over 17 million out of the total tribal population of a little over 19 million are dependent upon agriculture. Men and women are nearly equal participants in agricultural pursuits. Thus, agriculture gets the central place in the economic activity of the tribal people in India. However, economic life is nowhere static and rapid changes are taking place. Prominent examples of agricultural tribes are the Oraon, the Munda, the Bhil, the Santhal, the Majhwar, the Kharwar, the Baiga, the Korwa, the Gond, the Ho and the Assam tribes.

The most primitive of tribal agriculturists are not much different from the food gatherers. It has been said that the Kamar, the Reddi, the Baiga and similar primitive agriculturists have never been able to reach beyond the level of neolithic economy. Thus, to take a single example, the Kamar live on the inefficient and wasteful shifting axe cultivation, known locally as *dahi*, hunting, fishing, honey collecting, basket making and petty trade. Their economic life is very under-developed and depressed like that of most other Indian tribes.

Shifting Axe Cultivation. In tropical and sub-tropical zones all over the world is practised some form or other of what is called shifting cultivation. Prehistorians believe that in neolithic Europe cultivation of land was shifting, i.e., the same plots of land were not cultivated for very long but, instead, the cultivators moved from one place to another. In their efforts to counteract the decreasing yield of land, human beings may either explore and exploit virgin lands or instead engage in soil conservation through manuring. The latter becomes imperative when the population pressure on land is high, an ecological condition generally not to be met with in the environs of a primitive society. Besides, manuring represents a rather advanced scientific level of cultivation. The choice of proper manures is not an easy one to make as it is to be determined by the chemical composition of the soil and the type of crops which have been and are to be cultivated in it. Fertilizers are a concomitant of mechanized agriculture.

In tribal India shifting cultivation is widely prevalent, though it is known by different names. The Naga call it *jhum*; the Bhuiya distinguish two forms of it, *dahi* and *koman*; the Maria of Bastar call it *penda*; the Khond refer to it as *podu*; and the Baiga call it *bewar*.

On the basis of racial, linguistic and geographical data, it is possible to locate Indian tribal communities in three geographical zones in the country. There is the north-eastern group, the middle (central) Indian group and the southern group. (The peripheral regions of these zones cover the remaining tribal groups of the country.) Such a threefold classification is further strengthened by economic grading. In the north-east terrace agriculture of a more or less settled kind is the dominant mode of economic pursuit. In the middle zone shifting axe cultivation is the method of agriculture. The economic organization of the tribes in the south is based on the elementary food-gathering stage. Shifting cultivation is also found to some extent in the north-eastern as well as the southern zones.

Among subsidiary occupations, hunting, fishing, basket making, and working as agricultural and industrial labour in certain areas may be mentioned. Certain tribal groups like the Pardhan obtain a living by taking to music and singing. Employment by the government to make roads or work in forests is also a regular mode of occupation for these tribal people.

Food Gathering. Among food-gathering tribes, we have the Birhor, the Kharia, the Chenchu, the Malapantaram, the Kadar, the Paliyan, the Paniyan, the Yanadi and the Kurumba.

About the Kadar it has been reported that they continue to be food gatherers and even shifting cultivation, known elsewhere in the zone as *jhuming*, is rarely practised. They collect fruits, edible roots and honey from the forest and combine the same with the fruits of hunting and of chase. All food gatherers are hunters and fishermen, hunting and fishing being, strictly speaking, forms of food gathering.

Agriculture. Statistics collected at the 1951 census reveal that over 17 million out of the total tribal population of a little over 19 million are dependent upon agriculture. Men and women are nearly equal participants in agricultural pursuits. Thus, agriculture gets the central place in the economic activity of the tribal people in India. However, economic life is nowhere static and rapid changes are taking place. Prominent examples of agricultural tribes are the Oraon, the Munda, the Bhil, the Santhal, the Majhwar, the Kharwar, the Baiga, the Korwa, the Gond, the Ho and the Assam tribes.

The most primitive of tribal agriculturists are not much different from the food gatherers. It has been said that the Kamar, the Reddi, the Baiga and similar primitive agriculturists have never been able to reach beyond the level of neolithic economy. Thus, to take a single example, the Kamar live on the inefficient and wasteful shifting axe cultivation, known locally as *dahi*, hunting, fishing, honey collecting, basket making and petty trade. Their economic life is very under-developed and depressed like that of most other Indian tribes.

Shifting Axe Cultivation. In tropical and sub-tropical zones all over the world is practised some form or other of what is called shifting cultivation. Prehistorians believe that in neolithic Europe cultivation of land was shifting, i.e., the same plots of land were not cultivated for very long but, instead, the cultivators moved from one place to another. In their efforts to counteract the decreasing yield of land, human beings may either explore and exploit virgin lands or instead engage in soil conservation through manuring. The latter becomes imperative when the population pressure on land is high, an ecological condition generally not to be met with in the environs of a primitive society. Besides, manuring represents a rather advanced scientific level of cultivation. The choice of proper manures is not an easy one to make as it is to be determined by the chemical composition of the soil and the type of crops which have been and are to be cultivated in it. Fertilizers are a concomitant of mechanized agriculture.

In tribal India shifting cultivation is widely prevalent, though it is known by different names. The Naga call it *jhum*; the Bhuiya distinguish two forms of it, *dahi* and *koman*; the Maria of Bastar call it *penda*; the Khond refer to it as *podu*; and the Baiga call it *bewar*.

Shifting axe cultivation consists of felling trees on a hill-side a little before the sowing season and setting them on fire. (If all the trees are cut down, then the Bhuiya call it *dahi;* if only bushes and shrubs are placed round the trees and then burnt, they call it *koman.*) By the time of the sowing season the earth is covered with a layer of ashes. Then seeds are scattered, and rarely sown in these ashes. After some time the seeds take root and grow, nourished by an occasional shower of rain. The crops are scarce and of inferior quality. In a few years' time the soil becomes impoverished in the absence of ploughing and manuring, and a new stretch of the forest is brought under the axe.

Shifting cultivation has come under severe criticism from nearly all imaginable quarters. It has been characterized as inefficient, uneconomic and wasteful. It has caused deforestation and as a consequence thereof, erosion and floods. Valuable timber has been wastefully lost. The tribal folk have of course their own explanations, very often only mythological in nature, to give for this practice. Thus the Baiga report that Bhagwan (God) told their ancestor Nanga Baiga not to plough land as the Hindus and the Gond do; doing so would have meant tearing the bosom of mother Earth. It may be of interest to note that Manu laid down an injunction against Brahmans engaging in cultivation in view of the fact that many under-earth dwelling living beings (*jivas*) get killed in the process of ploughing, transplanting seeds, etc.

It has been pointed out that if shifting cultivation is not stopped it will tie down the tribes practising it to an undeveloped and low socio-economic level. However, it must be recognized that a change-over from shifting to permanent plough cultivation cannot take place suddenly as the economic life of a people is woven inextricably into all the other aspects of their life.

One must not jump to the conclusion that all the Indian tribes who engage in agriculture practise shifting axe cultivation. Some sections of the Naga people, like the Rengma Naga, are experts in terrace cultivation which is easily possible on a hill-slope. Elsewhere in India, among the Bhil, the Gond, the Munda, the Santhal, the Khasi and other tribes plough cultivation, similar to that practised in the non-tribal villages of India, is practised.

Handicrafts. Many subsidiary occupations like handicrafts are undertaken in the various tribal zones. These include basket making, spinning and weaving. The Maria Gond distil spirits from forest produce. Functional classes among the Saora, the Kond and the Gond devote themselves to cowherding, metal working, weaving, cane working, pottery and so on. The Korwa and the Agaria are well known iron smelters, producing tools for local use only, their techniques being very crude. The Ghasi make gut from the fibrous tissues of animals. The Tharu depend upon farming, manufacture of furniture, household utensils, baskets, musical instruments, weapons, rope and mats. The Madras Irula also make bamboo mats and baskets, and ploughshares and wheels for local use only.

Pastoralism. In India the famous Toda furnish a classic example of pastoral economy, their social and economic organization being built around their buffaloes. The Bhotiya of north U.P. are midway between pastoral and agricultural economies. The Toda obtain their living by drawing directly upon milk and milk products and by exchanging the same with neighbouring people to acquire other necessities of life. The buffaloes are ubiquitous, figuring in all aspects of life. They form the economic base of Toda culture. They, or their milk, play the prominent part in the socio-religious and ritual life of the tribe. The daily life of the Toda men is mainly devoted to the maintenance and care of their buffaloes and dairies.

Industrial Labour. Indian tribal people have come into contact with industrial life in two ways. Either, they have migrated to industrial areas or industries have sprung up in the areas they inhabit. Large numbers of the Santhal, the Kond and the Gond have migrated to Assam and taken up various jobs in tea plantations. The main suppliers of this outside labour are Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. The other manner of contact with industrial life is more important in view of its far-reaching consequences. Certain tribal areas in Middle India have been found rich in natural ores; and coal, iron and steel, and other industries have sprung up in these areas. This has happened in Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Thus, industrialization of these people's life has taken place, establishing a kind of tribal-urban continuum. In certain cases the tribal groups have shown remarkable adaptability. The Santhal are said to be good pick-miners and coal-cutters. The manganese industry of Madhya Pradesh has a 50 per cent tribal labour force. The Santhal and the Ho are prominent in the Bihar iron industry. Tribal labour accounts for nearly the entire unskilled labour force of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, about 17,000 in all. 2,50,000 of Bihar's tribal people earn a living in the mica industry, the mica mines being generally found in forests.

Tribal labour is also employed by labour contractors in collecting forest produce and in lumbering. Laying of roads also draws local tribal labour. In U.P. the Kolta, though not exactly a tribal people, are agricultural labourers.

NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THREE TRIBES

The Kadar. Down south, in Cochin, live the Kadar, perhaps the most primitive of tribes living on the Indian mainland. Their material culture is the poorest imaginable and most inadequate. They, being more or less nomadic, do not make permanent dwellings. Their small huts made of bamboo which are often windscreens only are erected by women. They have been found to tend fire, and not light it on each required occasion. Tending of fire is also the responsibility of women. Menfolk go hunting, fishing and honey collecting whereas women assist men in collecting edible roots, fruits and leaves. The implements of a hunter are a digging stick and a bamboo bow. Children use only a pellet bow. Men often hunt with knives. A choice prey of the hunter is the black long-tailed monkey. Goats, cattle and poultry are tend-ed. Men are experts in carving out pretty bamboo combs, similar to those made by the Smang and Senoi of Malakka and the Aeta of the Philippines. Also like the jungle tribes of Malakka and Indonesia, the Kadar have been reported to use no other locally made vessel except the bamboo cup. In spite of traditionally outlined tasks for men and women, referred to above, there is nothing like a sharply defined division of labour.

The Toda. The picturesque Nilgiri hills are the abode of this pastoral tribe of India, one of the classic examples of pastoral life. They do not engage in agriculture nor in any prominent handicraft. Consequently their material culture, like that of the Kadar, is meagre, but they enjoy a much higher standard of living. All their economic activity is centred round their buffaloes. They exchange milk and milk products with their neighbours and collect all that they require. Thus, the Badaga provide them with grains and other farm products and also act as middlemen between the milk-selling Toda and traders from the lowlands. The Badaga also pay an annual tribute of grains to the Toda. This has always been done in recognition of the supposedly original ownership of the region by the Toda and also in fear of Toda sorcery. The Kota, also of the Nilgiri Hills, are an artisan tribe and supply the Toda with pottery and ironware and ceremonial objects. They also act as musicians (as do the Pardhan of Madhya Pradesh). In return, the Toda give them milk and milk products and also the flesh of sacrificed buffaloes. The Toda have no weapons. Their degenerate clubs, bows and arrows have ceremonial functions (referred to elsewhere in this book). However, they acquire knives and axes for cutting firewood. The Kota supply them with all the utensils they need in the domestic work and dairy operations. The traditional mode of making fire is with the help of a fire drill.

Clothes and ornaments are acquired through the Badaga from Hindu traders. Even fancy parasols have found their way into the Nilgiri Hills.

The Toda dwelling is a local development. It looks like a semicircle, has a door, and is made of thatch fastened with rattan. The only domesticated animals the Toda have are the cat, and, of course, the all-important, omnipresent buffalo.

The Ho. Residents of Kolhan, the Ho are a typical example of mixed tribal economy. The economic basis of life is agriculture; along with it they carry on occasional hunting and fishing which are in the nature of welcome diversions from the monotony of an uneventful life. Despite the forces of disintegration which have found their way into their socio-economic life, cooperation in economic activities forms even today the most striking feature of their daily life. This does not bear evidence to a communistic past, nor is it mere gregariousness. It is a form of voluntary association and of the collective or communal spirit which result in a type of copartnership through which the economic possibilities are better realized, while, at the same time, reducing the monotony and tedium of daily routine.

The Ho recognize the merit of specialization in the arts and crafts which are indigenous to them. Specialists are often not paid in kind or cash but only by working, in exchange, for them. Sometimes the specialists do work for others for prestige and no exchange of goods or services takes place. Women are expert decorators and designers. Likewise there are expert brewers, artisans and the like. But basket and rope making are undertaken by everybody.

The system of paying wages in cash is not indigenous to the Ho. They work for reward in kind, and many of their joint activities and economic undertakings are based on ideas of mutuality of obligations. Payments in cash have, therefore, been a disorganizing factor. Nonetheless, money has still only a limited role to play in Kolhan, and it is this fact that ensures the continuance of the system of payment in kind. The usual method of securing provisions is the system of barter with paddy or salt. The introduction of a money economy in place of barter, due to a large extent to the opening of mines, factories and railways and the propagation and collection of lac and cocoon, has shaken the economic basis of their life.

Ploughing, fishing and hunting are always done in groups.

The division of labour in fishing, like that of agriculture, is based on certain conventions which are strictly adhered to. The fish caught are not immediately consumed but are preserved and stored with great care; dried fish are regarded as a delicacy. Dried fish also serve as means of barter for other commodities.

The most important crop raised by the Ho is paddy, which is their staple food. Transplantation and broadcast sowing are both made use of. Ploughing is done jointly with a number of ploughs used simultaneously over a small plot of land. Manures are sometimes used, and leguminous crops raised which serve as natural fertilizers.

In economic pursuits women seem to take an even more active part than men do considering that they have all the feminine and domestic duties also to attend to.

In Ho economic organization there is nothing like a permanent market. However, there are weekly markets and also seasonal markets held at definite places and fairs respectively.

The Ho have in recent times taken to industrial colonies and enrolled themselves as industrial labourers. This has revolutionized the economic life of sections of the Ho people.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Forde, Daryll, *Habitat, Economy and Society* (London: Metheun & Co., 1950).
Herskovits, M. J., *Man and His Works*, Chapters XVI and XVII.
Economic Anthropology (New York: Knopf, 1952).
Lowie, R. H., *Social Organization*, Chapter VI.
Thurnwald, R., *Economics in Primitive Communities* (1932).
I.L.O., *Indigenous Peoples*, 1953.

CHAPTER XIII

LAW AND JUSTICE

Theoretical background: origins of law; nature of primitive law; its differences from modern law. Establishment of crime; punishment; compensation. Sanctions behind law in primitive society. Government. Law among the Kamar, the Kharia, the Rengma Naga and the Ho.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

IT HAS BEEN said before that every association has an institutional aspect. When we look at society as the agency of political control, its particular mode of action as the political controller is characterized by enforceable force, that is, by coercion. The laws of a society are a body of principles which underly its activities as a state. The state is defined as that association which has the monopoly of using coercion over its members, within a territory. If other associations also use some forms of force, the same is done because the state permits it, and not in spite of, or against it. Law consists of a set of principles which permit the use of force to maintain political and social organization within a territory.

When an individual's mode of verbal and non-verbal behaviour is all his own, it is typical and an idiosyncracy. When some people in contact with him share it, a fashion comes into existence. When a time dimension is added to the initial spatial extension, i.e. when the behaviour of a junior generation is affected by an individual's one-time idiosyncracy, we have a custom, a usage. When organized force steps in as a sanction and a drive behind a custom, it becomes a law, an institution. Now, when, and how, exactly does this transformation of custom into law take place? Following Llewellyn, Hoebel and Lowie we may say that this point of transformation lies wherever somebody, with communal approval or sanction, takes some steps to deal with the breach of a norm.

If the above-given definition is taken too literally, it may be difficult to locate law in the institutions of primitive society. There are, generally speaking, no policemen or magistrates in primitive societies to fit into the role of the 'somebody' of the definition just given. However, intensive ethnographic surveys have revealed law in fully developed or in embryonic forms in all primitive societies. In fact when a society is known to have existed in space and in time, it becomes obvious that such existence must have been made possible by the previous existence of some kind of internal order and stability as also a similar kind of order in relations with outsiders. Such order, internal as well as external, cannot come about and operate by itself; it presupposes the operation by somebody of some kind of laws.

Origins. In primitive society the growth of law is a slow and spontaneous process of usages and customs being given the sanction of time and force. There is no legislation in the sense we know it in civilized society, although some rare examples have been cited from America and the Philippines where solitary cases of sudden legal reform as a result of the chief's will have been reported by Redfield (in his *Transformations of the Primitive World*). There is, however, no sustained, conscious and deliberate attempt at making or modifying laws.

Whenever laws come into existence, it is not a selected group of individuals, like a legislature, who are responsible for it, but the society as a whole.

Nature of Primitive Law. It had been asserted for long that primitive society, being characterized (allegedly) by unbridled violence, anarchy and chaos, primitive law was preponderantly *criminal law*. Lowie showed the errors of assumption involved; he pointed out that since inter-personal relations are governed by fixed status, inheritance of property by well-defined customs, and since the contractual basis of interrelationship is unkown, the scope for *civil law* in primitive jurisprudence was limited. Primitive law, he maintains, is different from our own in three different ways. It is largely conceived of in terms of the kinship bond and not the territorial tie; it is more or less identical with ethical norms and public opinion; and it does not distinguish between 'crimes' and 'torts', that is, between public and private wrongs as is done in modern jurisprudence.

Territory is not an interest by itself in primitive society perhaps because the pressure on land is nearly absent. Kinship bonds are the main integrating force, and all external (socio-political) organization is conceived in terms of these and enforced through an appeal to these.

In primitive society public opinion is a very powerful influence in the life of its individual members. The number of people constituting a primitive society being generally small, the total picture we have is that of a well-integrated homogeneous group of people, where each is known to everyone else, and where due to limited numbers and integration there is no scope for segments of various public opinions, as is the case in modern society. Public opinion in a primitive society is one, exclusive, strong and compelling. It is based not on expediency and the self-interest of a group within the society, but on certain common sentiments shared by all. These sentiments pertain to some conception of what is good and right. In other words, public opinion in primitive society originates from the moral and ethical notions of the people concerned, and nearly coincides with the same. There is no escape from it and no protection against it; everybody as its representative is a policeman; and the arm of law is the longest in such societies, though perhaps not so comprehensive and ruthless as in our own. In a primitive society the individual's dependence upon the group is absolute, and in this group there is no multiplicity of ethical norms and standards. Therefore, the individual is very sensitive to the group comment which is always uniform.

Since the territorial tie remains in the background, wrongs against the state can hardly be recognized. A wrong is a personal wrong. The wronged one is somebody's kin and so is the wrong-doer. The kin of the wronged will avenge themselves on the wrong-doer and his kin. It is a direct dealing without the whole society stepping in. But in certain instances the society as a whole does wake up from its slumber to take collective cognizance of a breach of a norm. This is done when the effects of the breach are feared to be harmful to the whole society. Thus, to take a classic example, the Eskimo do not bother themselves as a group over homicide, but no sooner are witchcraft and sorcery suspected than they act as a group overriding all considerations, even those of kinship ties.

It has been already said that laws often coincide with ethical norms. Therefore, a breach of the norm would often amount to a sin; and sins are feared to bring down wholesale supernatural punishment upon the heads of one and all. Thus, we find a strong collective opinion ever vigilant and ruthless against such breaches as incest, adultery, witchcraft and so on, which affect society as a whole.

For the above-mentioned reasons, viz. the predominance of kinship ties over territorial bonds, and the fear of supernatural punishment of crimes against society as a whole, we have a preponderance of the law of torts over the law of crimes in primitive society.

Intention. Modern society recognizes intention as an important determinant of the legality or the illegality of a person's actions. Even provocation is accepted as a partial excuse for the commission of a crime. But in primitive society these considerations are regarded as irrelevant because of supernatural punishment which is often feared to come as a visitation on the whole group in view of the fact that a breach of law is equated with sin. Therefore, it is, generally speaking, the result of an action that is important, rather than an inquiry into motive or presence of provocation and so on. However, it would be wrong to say that in no case whatever is any attention given to intention.

Collective Responsibility. It has been already said that primitive law is based on the kinship principle. An implication of this principle is another characteristic feature of primitive law, viz., collective responsibility. Where the state steps in on behalf of the wronged, no group is important or competent enough by comparison to participate in the process of arriving at a decision. But where there is no state, each kin group has to defend itself and demand that amends be made for wrongs done. Without such collective responsibility it would be impossible to redress wrongs and defend people adequately. It is derived from the kinship principle and is rooted deep in the need for social survival.

Justice is administered through kin groups. Village councils consisting of representatives from different kin groups sit in judgment over breaches of the tribal norms. Or, where there are chiefs, the cases are decided by them, but rarely without consulting family heads or village headmen.

Evidence. In the administration of justice importance is attached to the establishment of guilt, by what we may call evidence. There are two main ways of doing so: *oath* and *ordeal.* The culprit is asked to take an oath and then say whether he is guilty or not guilty. The results of perjury are greatly feared since they are regarded to be supernatural wrath. If an ordeal is decided upon, the accused is asked to go through ordeals like putting his hand in boiling water, or oil, or piercing of the tongue and so on. If the accused escapes without injury he is acquitted; otherwise he is held guilty. Fairly often witnesses are also called in.

Punishment. From nowhere in primitive society, except in Uganda, do we have any evidence of imprisonment as a form of punishment. In Uganda the king, or chief, or family head could order a man to be put in the stocks, but an indulgent sentry would let him go off for the nights. A more severe form of this punishment would be to have the culprit's arms and one leg fastened to holes in heavy logs. This generally leads to the death of the culprit after some time.

Murder for murder is a widely accepted principle, but death by hanging as a punishment is unknown. An interesting implication of the principle of collective responsibility is involved here. It is not necessary that the murderer himself should be killed; any member of his family, or wider kin group, can be substituted for him. It is not the individual who is regarded to have been wronged, but the kin group as a whole; and kin group avenges itself on kin group, and not necessarily on an individual.

In deciding the punishment, there is often a gradation of crimes. Even the same crime may be differently punished according to who has been wronged. To cite an example, in certain parts of tribal Africa, whereas adultery with a commoner is a minor and private wrong, with the wife of a king or a chief it is a capital crime.

Wergild. There is also no such thing by way of punishment to be found in primitive society as the fine which is appropriated by the state in modern society. Instead fines are charged in primitive society which are paid as compensation (*wergild*) to the aggrieved party. Punitive feasts have often to be given in which the whole village may partake. In paying *wergild* in compensation for the wrong done, there is again a gradation which determines how much is to be paid for a particular offence, by whom and to whom.

WHY IS LAW OBEYED?

A question which has engaged the anthropologists contentiously has been, 'Why is law obeyed?' Various answers had been given: because of the compulsiveness of public opinion; because of the equation of laws with ethical norms which makes a breach of the laws a sin, punishment for which is supernatural visitation; and so on. Consequently, it had been said that the primitive obeys laws spontaneously, willingly and slavishly. It was Malinowski who showed that there was no automatic submission to law. What actually made a people obey law was interdependence and mutual obligation. If one does not do one's duty by others, one cannot expect them to do anything for one's own sake. And no individual nor an individual family is a unit self-sufficient by itself. Malinowski illustrated this mutuality of obligations as it underlies the economic, social and ceremonial ritual life of the Trobriand Islanders. Thus, he showed that unless the beach-dwellers exchange their fish for the garden produce of those living in the interior, and *vice versa,* neither group will be able to survive. Consequently mutual obligations must be fulfilled. These obligations are embodied in tribal laws; and the same are obeyed not slavishly but because of self-interest and its fulfilment. Economic interest is one of the dominant self-interests which governs the emergence of, and obedience to, laws.

GOVERNMENT

The association, of which law is the institutional activity, is *government.* It is the society, or its representatives, in the role of socially sanctioned administrators of social customs and laws. Government exists to perform three vital functions, in some form or other. These are the legislative, the judicial and the executive functions. These functions acquire their characteristic meaning when they are understood as relevant to, and within, a territory. Morgan, Maine and others have maintained that primitive society is atomistic and individualistic and that the only bonds that knit people into social groupings are those of kinship. Accordingly these writers have denied the existence of government in primitive society. Morgan placed monarchy late in the process of evolution; he correlated it, as a representative form of centralized government, with the invention of writing, and the use of phonetics in the top stage of evolution called civilization. Goldenweiser and others have, however, tried to show that the sib or clan does have a spatial aspect. In tribal India also we know that a tribe or clan is always intimately correlated with a geographical area.

Looking for examples in other parts of the world, some kind or other of government is always detectable. North American Indians are famous for their democratic inclinations and whole societies even among them have been characterized as 'police' societies. Chieftainship also is a widely prevalent institution there. African primitives present a wide range of variety. There are leaderless nomadic tribes among them, as also tribes with strong monarchist institutions. Distribution of power and obligations between kings and sodalities has also been reported from there. Data from Australasia also indicate the existence of some form or other of executive authority in that area.

It has been reported that in some societies authority is vested in two very different types of persons. One person is required to look after the religious aspect, and the other after the secular aspect of social life. There are societies in which authority is not vested in an individual or two but in a council in which all the members of the council have an equal voice. Often chiefs and councils exist side by side, the latter assisting the former. There are also primitive societies where all authority lies in the hands of a few people, a body of hereditary nobility or people who have attained prominence because of their old age, experience, wisdom or a supposedly higher degree of *mana*.

Contingency creates chiefs and leaders in societies where there are none in day to day life. Hunting and warfare depend for success upon efficient leadership of men, and persons with the requisite experience and knowledge always find their opportunity to assume the role of chiefs or leaders.

In India the Naga and other Assam tribes have been well-known for their strongly monarchist inclinations. However, chiefs are always assisted by elders' councils. In Middle India it is the village councils which used to exercise the authority of the common, or general, will. With the coming of the British administration local political institutions have had to bow down to the superiority of the alien political organization. The total extinction of these local political institutions, which has overtaken the Middle and South Indian tribes, has not, however, succeeded in wiping out all their local laws and customs. Of late attempts have been made to rehabilitate the village *panchayats* and entrust them with various functions and the necessary powers.

LAW IN TRIBAL INDIA

Given below are some examples of tribal law, its maintenance and breaches, as found in tribal India.

The Kamar. The Kamar are a very simple, pre-literate tribe of Madhya Pradesh existing on an undeveloped economic and cultural level. Contacts with the British-sponsored judicial system have brought in partial disintegration of the traditional pattern of law and justice and administration. They have to abide by their own customary laws as also by the Indian Penal and Civil Codes. Nonetheless these people have been found to make little use of the Indian courts and larger *panchayats.* This may be due to the stranglehold of traditions over them, and/or their ignorance about the functioning of the courts and larger *panchayats.*

The laws of the Kamar deal with various kinds of offences, and the punishments awarded are not similar to those that would be awarded by an Indian court. This difference is explicable with reference to the varying conceptions as to what constitutes crime as between the Indian Penal Code and the traditional law of these people. Thus, homicide is often justified and when it is not, the murderer's crime is pardoned when he gives a penal feast. Stealing grains and forest produce from other tribes and government reserves respectively is not regarded as an offence, nor is illicit distillation of liquor regarded as such. Personal disputes are often traditionally settled through an exchange of blows.

As regards actions which are regarded as crimes against the tribal norms, punishments may be awarded collectively by the *panchayat* or may not be awarded at all in such cases where supernatural and automatically operative punishment is expected. It is further believed that if the deities do not punish the culprits in this world, they will certainly take them to task in the world to which people go after death. Incest, i.e. sexual intercourse between close relatives, is one such offence, which need not be punished as supernatural wrath is sure to be visited upon the offending pair. However, according to local tradition such a breach of a tribal norm is always socially penalized through ostracizing those guilty of it. They are completely isolated, or even driven out of the village.

Abusing or neglecting to do one's duty by the gods is yet another offence which is not punished in the hope that the gods will themselves take revenge.

There are also automatic supernatural punishments for some ordinary breaches of various taboos. Thus, if a menstruating woman violates any of the taboos imposed on her, like entering the shed of the goddess or the cooking room, automatic supernatural punishment is expected to be visited not only upon her but her entire family.

The *panchayat* does not meet to settle all disputes or award punishments for every single breach of the tribal laws. In many cases, it has been reported, social disapproval expressed by the elders of the local group is generally enough. The *panchayat* assembles and takes into consideration only the comparatively more serious breaches of tribal law and custom.

For the tribe as a whole there is no central authority. Instead, a group of settlements adjacent to one another form their own *panchayat* which enjoys supreme powers in the socio-religious matters of the members of the tribe living in the constituent settlements. *Panchayats* often depend for their functioning on a hierarchy of officials, such as *kurha*, the chief of all the villages, *sirpanch*, the presiding officer of the group *panchayat*, and *chapprasi*, who runs errands, informs people about the meetings of the *panchayat*, their date, place and purpose. None of these officials has a determining voice in the decisions of the *panchayat*. Only elderly men can be members of a *panchayat*. Children, young men and women of all ages are excluded from this membership. The decisions arrived at in the *panchayat* are unanimous or majority decisions. The people assembled can air their views but their opinions are not counted statistically in order to arrive at decisions. There is no more superior authority than the *panchayat* which can itself overrule the decisions of the family elders.

In judging a case, Dube, ethnographer of the Kamar, writes that the *panchayat* hears both the sides, eye witnesses are specially relied upon and the accused persons are allowed an opportunity to explain their position.

Intention and motive are subordinated to the consequences of an act, and punishments are awarded in terms of these consequences. Consequently, no distinction is made between wrongs committed deliberately and those committed unknowingly as a result of chance and accident. Broken-eared people among the Kamar are ostracized; and when one Bucha broke one of his own ears by accident he was ostracized. There are prolonged discussions over cases of this type, but majority decisions are always reached and these uphold and conserve the tradition.

A large number of offences can be expiated for by giving penal feasts. The items of the feast are dictated by the *panchayat* which may reduce them on the request of the accused. Often enough the accused takes some time to collect the requirements for the feast. During this time, he has to bear with the punishment awarded to him; e.g., if he has been ostracized, then he shall remain outside the tribe or at least outside its social life.

Nowadays cases of such offences as homicide, grievous bodily hurt and thefts of a very serious nature are taken to the Indian courts for decision.

Adultery, witchcraft, eating with low-caste people, touching or riding a horse, black magic, killing a cow or a bullock, having vermin in one's wound, being beaten by a low-caste person, after changing four husbands, marrying a fifth one, elopement, and breaking the rule of clan exogamy, are some of the actions which are regarded as breaches of tribal law by the Kamar. Dube further writes that offences against person and property are not numerous and are rarely of a serious nature. They are generally treated lightly and are even regarded as justifiable necessities sometimes. Concealment of offences and suppression of evidence is rarely attempted. In fact, rather than being regarded as 'crimes', offences are regarded as 'sins', which can be expiated in most of the cases by giving a tribal feast and paying a fine. Authority naturally devolves on men of age and experience. The elders of the tribe are the guardians of its law and order. They are both interpreters of the tribal code and adjudicators of disputes.

The Kharia. They are found in Orissa and Bihar, for the most part and, like the Kamar, they are at the food gathering-primitive agriculture level. Sections of the tribe live in inhospitable hilly tracts and wander over jungles and waste lands in search of small game and edible wild fruits etc. Consequently they live in small groups of four to ten families. Those of them who live in more bountiful environments have organized themselves into larger settlements.

Among such a people the role of a leader is all important, and in accordance with this need they have the institution of the headman. But this headman, powerful though he is, is not the sole authority. He must consult influential family leaders, who in many villages, when taken together, constitute the village council called the *panchayat*.

The village council deals with all violations of minor socio-religious and socio-political taboos and norms. The headman and the village council raise funds for periodical public worship and add to the solemnity of occasions by attending marriages and funerals.

Ex-communication is the most common and the severest punishment that the village council can inflict. The various types of violations of tribal laws for which such a punishment is inflicted are, sexual union with a non-Kharia, sexual intrigue within the clan; killing, intentional or accidental, of a cow, calf or bullock; and so on. Breaches of a less gravity are generally expiated by the offender's drinking of the blood of a white cock or he-goat which is sacrificed in the name of the Sun God, and by the offering of rice-beer to the members of the *panchayat*.

Customary law among the Kharia pertains to partition and inheritance of property and adoption. Property is passed on along the male line, but a sonless widow has a life interest in her deceased husband's property. They also recognize social pollution through contact, sexual intercourse or eating of food with the non-Kharia as social offences which are often equated with sins. There are purificatory rites brought into operation to purify the polluted and re-admit them to full social life. Inter-village *panchayats* can re-admit those once ex-communicated but not unless purificatory rites are gone through and feasts given. Witchcraft and sorcery are also regarded as serious offences. Witches and sorcerers are regarded as enemies of the society and its gods. They are hated and ex-communicated on being found out. The *panchayat* or tribal council is said to be the custodian of all the laws and customs of the tribe.

The Rengma Naga. Among the Rengma Naga exogamy is one of the basic tribal laws for it determines the entire nature of their kinship system. Descent is in the male line, and is the basis for many laws of inheritance and succession.

Before the introduction of British rule, their village government used to rest on the institution of chieftainship. The chief would be assisted by the leading men of different clans. His office was hereditary in the clan but not in the family. The power of the chief was supreme in the past although the very cruel and the very inefficient were removed from office. The penalty for disobeying a chief was destruction of the offender's house. But things have changed since the coming of British courts. Local authority has been undermined and all sorts of disputes and violations of tribal laws are carried to the courts.

Customary laws govern inheritance of property, the most important form of which is land. Land may be held by an individual or a family or a clan. All property goes to male heirs, but a widow is entitled to maintenance till her remarriage or death. Cattle, another main form of property, are inherited in the same manner. There are rules governing adoption. According to Mills, the procedure of each party to a dispute stating its case before an arbitrator and then abiding by his decision is foreign to all Naga ideas. They instead cry (or at least used to) themselves hoarse and create much confusion, but the old men always succeed(ed) in arriving at decisions reflecting the general feelings of the village.

For serious offences like homicide and arson, the accused is exiled and his house destroyed. Such destruction is carried out in a traditional manner, leaving parts of the house, like hearth stones for example, untouched. Unlike most other primitive tribes, including other sections of the Naga, the

Rengma distinguish between murder and accidental homicide. Exile, whenever awarded as punishment, is temporary.

Causing malicious hurt, killing a hunting dog, and abduction (as distinguished from casual adultery) are also punished in the same manner as referred to in the previous paragraph.

Firing a jungle is a serious offence as it makes the jungle useless for several years. The offender is cursed by the whole village; this one is a typical kind of punishment.

Theft is the commonest of crimes though not very frequent. Stealing of such things which cannot be guarded, like grains from granaries which are outside the village, is regarded as more serious. Fines are imposed but, curiously enough, the same are realized from the culprit's property only after his death.

Sexual relations with an unmarried girl, and not against her will, is not punished, but the parents may demand a fine. But accepting fines for adultery and fornication is regarded as the acceptance of tainted money. Anything given as a fine in such cases is therefore either distributed among the oldest and the poorest, or simply destroyed.

Oaths are sometimes administered to find out the truth. Oath-taking outside the Indian courts is generally regarded as very serious and the whole village has to observe *genna* (taboo on normal life) for the day. Perjury is supposed to be punished by supernatural powers.

The traditional laws of the Rengma have also for their subject-matter friendships between different people and details about the conduct of war and head-hunting raids.

Their traditional customs rule out slavery and give an equal status with men to the women of the tribe.

The Ho. The Ho of Chota Nagpur, unlike the secluded Naga, are in regular contact with various agencies of urban civilization. They occupy a much higher place on the cultural and economic ladder as compared to the Kamar and the Kharia. The manner in which law and justice are administered among them these days shows an attempt at reconciling the past and the present.

The contact between the Ho and the administrative officers who administer new laws is not direct but through certain officials chosen from amongst the villagers. Since this type of new justice, according to new laws, has started to be administered there has been a growing decline of traditional laws and leaders and a simultaneous phenomenal increase in crime and lawsuits. *Mankis* and *mundas* are the main types of intermediaries who work among their own people but for the government. These tribal officers are inefficient and corrupt. In their attempt to serve two masters, their own people and the government, they have been successful in serving neither. They often become self-seekers. These tribal officers have been instrumental in bringing about the decline of the local *panchayat*. However, attempts have been made to preserve the traditional machinery of administering laws and settling disputes. For this purpose the Kolhan Superintendent makes use of the services of a tribal inspector who is responsible for the efficient functioning of the tribal machinery. To ensure that the *panchayat's* decisions satisfy the parties to a dispute, the Deputy Collector in charge of Kolhan (Kolhan Superintendent) is required to attend the final sitting of the *panchayat*, question the members, and record for himself the essential issues involved in the disputes and the *panchayat's* opinion on them. All disputes require to be enquired into and settled by arbitration in the village by the *munda* and the *manki* of the *pir* concerned. When the headman fails to settle a dispute, the Kolhan Superintendent must himself proceed to question the parties and the headman about all details, consult all settlement and other records available and make out clearly the history of the dispute and the points of decision. Thus the essential points in the administration of civil justice in Kolhan are: (*i*) that the disputes are arbitrated in the village assembly and not heard mainly from such individual witnesses as can be produced in court; (*ii*) that all orders are communicated direct by the officer in charge of the administration to the *pir*, or village headman, and not through the *diku*, i.e. non-Ho subordinates. Parties, however, are entitled to apply to the Kolhan Superintendent to have their cases decided in the regular form of a civil suit on payment of court fees, but this is only allowed after every effort has first been made to settle the disputes in the village assembly, and the results of such proceedings recorded.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Diamond, A. S., *Primitive Law* (London, 1935).
Lowie, R. H., *Social Organization*, Chapter VII.
Primitive Society, Chapter XIV.
Maine, H., *Ancient Law* (London, 1861).
Malinowski, B., *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1949).

CHAPTER XIV

RANK AND CASTE

Theoretical background: the view of primitive society as a democratic organization; definition of rank and status, class and caste. Caste in India: its nature and general features; caste incompetence; caste origins: racial, occupational, functional and other viewpoints. Utility of the Indian caste system, and its uniqueness.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

MORGAN, and others of his persuasion, held that primitives are averse to the recognition of an aristocracy amidst their society. Primitive society, according to these writers, is a classless society because primitives do not appraise or evaluate individual differences. The evolutionary theorists have been of the view that stratification and centralized authority are civilized notions. In primitive society, they have said, atomistic existence prevails, and therefore, there is a bias towards democratic authority.

There have been other investigators who have not regarded this as the true picture of primitive society. Marett cites the recognition of superiority in a person as a result of a greater degree of *mana* as proof of the recognition of rank as a basis for prestige positions, which give status, in primitive societies. When individual rank is recognized, recognition of a superior class of people is an inevitable consequence. It has been found that among the Naga, the head-hunters, who are still associated with bravery in spite of legal checks on their pursuits, were, and are, respected and regarded as aristocrats. Polygyny has been often found to exist as a recognition not of male superiority but of the superiority of brave men. Stealing of alien women, and horses, or killing of wild animals or procuring a human head may all be criteria of bravery: and it is obvious that not all can do these brave deeds.

Therefore, the brave constitute a high-ranking class.

In a primitive society, a leader is he who enjoys some superiority over others; he may be wise, or experienced, or brave, or rich, or a good entertainer, or popular, or a man of initiative, or he may have all these, or/and some other qualities. Thus, among some Australian primitive societies only the old can be political leaders. In Tibet the *shaman* are the all-powerful intermediaries between this world and the supernatural; and a person can be initiated into the secrets of shamanhood only if he suffers from some physiological abnormality like epilepsy. The *shaman* are a group of ranked specialists.

If a number of people constitute a group, not because of physical 'togetherness' but because they have some common interests and common ways of doing things, as a consequence of which stratification of society into higher and lower groups emerges, then these groups may be called *status groups.* If a status group is open to entry, that is, if anybody can become its member by fulfilling certain prerequisite conditions, like obtaining a degree, or paying an admission fee, or earning a particular income, then the status group may be called a *class.* The restriction of the term class to mean an income group has no sociological sanction; such a group is properly called an economic class.

If recruitment is not free, that is, if a status group is not open to anybody, but only those are its members who have certain *ascribed* attributes, which cannot be acquired by others, then it is called a *caste.* A caste is a closed class. A person is generally born into it. However, there are no purely free-entry classes, nor purely closed castes. Thus, it may not be possible for everybody to earn an income which alone would entitle him to belong to an economic class. Similarly, there is some mobility within a caste-structured society. Members of inferior castes always seek to move upwards; and non-conforming members of a caste may be punished by expulsion, and in rare instances demotion into a lower caste. Membership of a caste is compulsory and not a matter of choice as is the case with class membership. A society which has classes and/or castes is a stratified society;

that is, it recognizes differentiation through rank. And there is hardly any society, howsoever primitive, which does not have some classes or castes within it. The difference between one society and another in this regard is mainly one of degree.

CASTE IN INDIA

The most frequently mentioned peculiarity of the Indian social structures is the institution of caste, or, as it is more frequently called, the caste system. Caste is found in other parts of the world also, but the kind of system found in India is characterized more by its specific unique features than by such features which it shares with caste structures elsewhere.

Nature and General Features. Caste in India is a social institution, deriving sanction from, and intimately interwoven with the Hindu religion. Caste sanctions and strictures still govern all social, religious and economic activities of an average Indian in the villages and, to a decreasing extent, in the towns and the cities. The caste stratification of Indian society is based on the *chaturvarna* doctrine. *Varna* means colour and has a racial significance. It refers to the composition of the Indian population at the time of the Aryan invasion. It is believed that the Creator created three groups, *varnas* to be exact, from various parts of his body. From his head came the Brahman, from his body the Kshatriya and from his hands and feet the Vaishya. Each gave rise to a caste. The Brahman enjoying the highest respect, devoted themselves to religion, ritual performances, learning and teaching. The Kshatriya ranked next as rulers, defenders and warriors. Below them in rank were put the Vaishya who became cultivators, artisans and traders. These first three castes are called 'twice-born', in view of their right and duty to undergo certain ritual ceremonies, which invest them with a ritual-cum-spiritual status. Below the Vaishya, without any rank at all, were put the Sudra, consisting of menials and servants who engaged in impure tasks. All these four castes, however, were Arya, or the Aryan-speaking people. The non-Arya, consisting of the local tribal population, were assigned no place within the caste hierarchy and constituted an outgroup. Even today when no distinction is made between Aryan and non-Aryan-speaking people, the untouchable sections of the Sudra caste constitute a fifth outer group, sometimes designated as exterior castes.

Based on the four main castes, thousands of sub-castes and sub-sub-castes have emerged with growing population and inter-marriage between the original and the later castes.

It must be pointed out here that caste status is not the function of an occupation; instead of the occupation it is the ritual purity or impurity of a caste occupation which determines the status which a caste is to enjoy. A profane occupation like scavenging, burning the dead, or skinning dead animals, being ritually impure, entails a low or a negative status. Thus, it is obvious, that such a system of social stratification divides the society into thousands of small groups, each cluster of groups having its own distinctive set of customs and practices.

Caste membership imposes two main kinds of restrictions on a person: one must marry within one's own caste and one must not accept cooked food from a lower caste. As regards endogamy, hypergamous marriages called *anuloma,* meaning 'with the hair', i.e., natural, are however, allowed. A man from a higher caste may take a wife from his own or a lower caste, and thereby give rise to a new caste, lower than his own but higher than that of his wife, to which his children would belong. But a woman cannot marry below her caste; such hypogamous marriages called *pratiloma,* meaning 'against the hair', have not been allowed by Manu and other *smriti* writers. These ancient writers also laid down specific jobs for each caste; and departure from prescribed caste occupations is the most pronounced aspect of the contemporary anti-caste movement. Even as far back as the time when the *Gita* was composed, revolt against this sanction was already being justified on the ground that only such a job is the right one to follow as suits one's temperament. Adoption of non-traditional occupations has been one of the more important of the factors leading to the emergence of new castes. Nowadays, as the ban on social intercourse and inter-dining is becoming less rigid in the context of new influences and egalitarian ideas, endogamy remains entrenched as the main mechanism of the ultimate retention of the social distance which has to be maintained between different castes. The cost of breaking down such social distance and associating with castes lower than one's own is pollution, i.e., temporary fall from ritual purity through association with a ritually less pure or impure person, food or occupation. This fall becomes permanent if no attempt is made to regain the lost purity by ritualistic expiation.

Caste Incompetence. The disabilities which a person has to suffer as a result of his belonging to a low caste are so many and so heavy that a whole class of such *depressed castes*, totalling about fifty to sixty million persons, has arisen in India today. The worst affected by caste incompetence are the so-called 'untouchables', spread all over India, mere contact with whom is believed to result in pollution. Down in South India, where casteism is predominant even in urban political life, there are also castes of 'unseeables', seeing whom would pollute a 'twice-born'. Consequently, in South India there is a definite check on the territorial mobility of lower castes. They cannot go out of their localities and may venture outside only after nightfall. Untouchables nowhere may draw water from a common well, or buy necessaries of life from a common shop, or, even though they are Hindus, enter a temple. They may not talk to high caste people from a distance nearer than that prescribed. They are often denied the use of public conveyances, roads and schools. In some parts of the country, their shadow carries pollution and they should not approach public thoroughfares without warning, or walk on them in such manner as to allow their shadow to fall on, or even be trodden over by, a Brahman. In one part of Madras State the untouchables and *pariahs* can only use the roads at midday, when the sun is vertically overhead and the shadow is cast over a negligible distance. In towns and cities, with common buses and railways, post-offices and hospitals, offices and business centres, eating houses and hotels, such restrictions are inevitably on the decline. But caste incompetence is regarded potent and alive enough to have made it imperative to have legislation penalizing discrimination on grounds of caste, and also provide for special protection of the backward classes for a number of years.

The position of the depressed, or as they have been sometimes called exterior, castes can briefly be summarized as follows:

Depressed castes are not depressed in all states; the same caste may be depressed in one state but may not be suffering any socio-economic or political disability in another. In Madhya Pradesh, for example, the same caste has different social rights and disabilities in various districts.

Where the depressed castes are numerically small, the disabilities are rigid. Where they are numerically strong and have developed a strong caste organization, their disabilities are less, or on the decline.

Where the castes are all of the same race or are largely so, social disabilities are not numerous and are usually confined to those castes whose function is considered degrading.

Where the higher castes are not numerous and the depressed castes form the bulk of population, the cases of ritual pollution recognized are very few, and often we find only a few disabilities attached to the inferior castes and social groups.

A caste may be depressed but individual members of the caste who have succeeded in life and who are political leaders, ministers or high officials, and also prosperous, have been admitted to a higher social status, and have even married women from higher castes.

Tribal people do not suffer from any stigma of the kind the depressed castes do. But as tribes enter the caste economy, their status varies in accordance with the occupation they choose, the castes they associate with, their numbers and also their importance to the higher castes. The Santhal in the various health resorts of Bengal, Bihar and in the Santhal Parganas itself, do not suffer from any social disabilities; on the other hand, they refuse food and water from the higher castes who require their services. The Saha and the Teli have exerted varied pressure in the village economy of Bengal and have secured rights which are not exercised by their colleagues elsewhere.

Caste Origins. India is generally known as the classic land of castes and creeds. Caste is said to be in the air, and even Muslims and Christians have not escaped infection. There are approximately three thousand castes and tribes in India, and there are probably as many theories of caste origins as are those who have written on the subject.

The caste system is believed, not without good reason, to be of immemorial antiquity. Many read a kind of caste structure in the *Rigveda,* as the *Purusha Sukta* in describing the origin of the four *varnas,* supports this view. Though doubts exist about the status of the *Purusha Sukta* as an integral part of the *Rigveda,* it is certain that a functional division of society was known at the time of the *Rigveda.* The existence of the fourfold division of society in Iran, viz., Athravans, Rathaestars, Vastria Fshouyants and Hiuti, corresponding to the four *varnas* in India, must have been known to the early Aryan speaking colonizers, and a functional division of society on similar lines could have been practised. The rigidity of the caste system developed during the period following the *Rigveda* to the time when Buddhism challenged the caste order, but one would think that this challenge was not against the caste structure as such, but probably against the sacerdotal cult. The tyranny of the Brahman could only develop in the absence of a strong central government, as the sacerdotal leadership of Hindu society was in their hands. The secular affairs were, however, controlled by the Rajanya or Kshatriya, the second order of the caste structure.

Race in Caste. European writers on the subject of caste origins knew about the racial differences between castes, high and low, and consciously or unconsciously linked their findings to race. Weale who wrote that the whole history of India, from the earliest times, had been one long story of colour prejudice and that more cruelty had probably been displayed there than in the rest of the world, believed that the Aryan races, who were 'white', simply devised the iron system of castes to prevent the undue mixing of a dominant race with a 'black' inferior race. Brinton finds in the highest Brahman, medium height, oval face, handsome regular features, symmetrical body, dolichocephalic head with brunette complexion, hazel eyes and wavy hair. W. J. Thomas finds marked physical contrasts in the population, correlated with superior and inferior cultures, and this according to him is the basis of caste distinctions. Dudley Buxton thinks that caste is still of assistance in dividing up the complex races of the Indian peninsula. Risley found race factors in the caste system and traced it to its Iranian parallel, accounting for endogamy in India, which was absent in Iran, by an intermixture of the invading Aryan groups with the indigenous Dravidian race, on the principle of hypergamy. Gillin thinks that it is possible that caste in India originated in the racial differentiations between various populations. Chappel and Coon trace the origin of castes to the absorption of aboriginal types, and they also explain the formation of new castes with reference to the emergence of new occupations. The dynamics of caste structure appear to have been misunderstood by Chappel and Coon when they say that with the rise of the new occupations of electricians and trainmen in India, the men who took up these jobs were at first chosen at random, but later they formed associations of their own, and caused their children to intermarry and thus formed new castes within a short period. Endogamy does develop when a section of a caste takes to a new technique, or adopts a new occupation, but people of different castes following the same occupation do not form a caste as pointed out by Chappel and Coon.

MacIver also leans towards the theory of the racial origin of caste structure. He says that caste perhaps arose out of the superimposition of one endogamous community on another. Religion came in to rationalize the power, prestige and pride of race which such a superimposition must have engendered. Max Weber's view becomes significant in this context. Caste, according to him, signifies the enhancement and transformation of social distance into a religious or more strictly a magical principle. Tozzer thinks that, in North India, caste came to be based on occupations with no contact allowed among the different castes; but in South India, where there were many aboriginal peoples, the racial question was the main basis of the division into castes. Kroeber finds a race element in caste but he regards religious, cultural and occupational elements also as significant. He further believes that any factor which sets off a group may lead to the emergence of a caste in India.

Among Indian writers, S. C. Roy, N. K. Dutt and G. S. Ghurye have linked caste with the racial factor. The initiation of the Indian caste structure has been credited to the Indo-Aryans, and the *varna* is regarded as a concept of racial origin, diluted in course of time through race mixture and hybridization. N. K. Dutt thinks that some of the seeds of caste were a common stock of the Aryan peoples in all countries, but while they failed to grow elsewhere, they found more fertile soil in India because of the absence of a strong political power which would wield supremacy over a large area, crush tribal differences and enforce uniform laws and customs. The racial factor in the formation of the caste structure is, in a sense, admitted by most of the scholars and yet the development of the caste system cannot be explained wholly on the basis of race.

Recruitment from Tribes. W. H. R. Rivers finds in the Toda social structure similarities with Hindu castes. There is a certain amount of resemblance between the two divisions, Tartharol and Teivaliol, of Toda society and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialization of functions, certain grades of priesthood being filled only by the members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions though certain irregular unions are permitted. In Gujarat villages, a distinction is made between *kaliparaj* (black races) and *ujàliparaj* (all other Hindu castes). G. C. Mukhtyar writes about the Atgam village that the Kolis who belonged to the former, i.e., *kaliparaj*, are now considered as belonging to the higher group, viz., *ujaliparaj*, because of their property. About the Chenchu, an aboriginal tribe of Hyderabad State, von Fürer-Haimendorf writes that, whatever the material prospects of the village

Chenchu, there can be no doubt that, within a few generations, they will have taken their place in the social order as a recognized Hindu caste. The Rajbanshi of northern Bengal have become a caste and have adopted Hindu *gotras*. The Ho of Kolhan have formed endogamous groups on the basis of property and political status; and we have elsewhere accounted for the emergence of a class structure based upon differentiated patterns of behaviour, particularly in diet. This development, associated as it is with a progressive ban on inter-marriage and inter-dining between the classes, bears many of the hallmarks of the segmentation of endogamous subcastes in the caste system. As the aboriginal tribes have become vocal and politically alert today, they are afraid of losing their 'scheduled' status which secures to them many rights and privileges and they are not likely to become castes but classes. Risley found several processes through which tribes have transformed themselves into castes; these are described in the following chapter of this book. Dudley Buxton says that the tribes become castes by a natural tendency. It is possible, he says, that the Sudra originally represented the whole mass of an early population. Daniel and Alice Thorner speak of a steady, small stream of tribes entering the Hindu fold each generation by settling on the edge of villages and accepting the most menial occupations, from the making of baskets to hiring out as day labourers and, eventually, renting small plots of their own. J. H. Hutton finds the fundamental traits of the caste system in those cultures that survive in India least altered from antiquity. In the unadministered area to the east of the Naga hills, he finds a distribution by villages of certain occupations and he thinks this occupational distribution of villages is distinctly suggestive of the caste system. Nor does he think we need look far beyond the area of the Naga country as a possible source of commensal taboos. Certain foods are peculiar to certain exogamous clans and rules regarding inter-marriage are backed by the concepts of soul substance, *mana*, taboo and magic.

Functional Basis. The social hierarchy in every part of India follows a particular pattern. Higher caste status is associated with landownership or superior rights on the soil, a higher living standard and a ban on manual labour. The gradations of peasant and agricultural castes fill up the middle ranks, the field labourers occupying the lowest status with agrestic serfs. The artisan castes are regarded as inferior to the farming castes in accordance with their importance to the village economy, the more important of them assuming clean status. Daryll Forde defines the status of castes in Cochin with reference to their prestige, wealth and power. The order is as follows: the royal house belonging to the Kshatriya group of castes has special rank as a sacred ruling family. The Nambudiri Brahmans are an aristocracy dependent on their religious prestige, whose high ranks have also acquired extensive landed property; the Nayar, who formerly bore arms and also owned land, are a group of relatively high castes who perform personal services to the Brahmans; and the remaining castes are untouchables, like low castes of artisans, fishermen, boatmen, toddy drawers, serf castes and down to the jungle groups of the hills. In Uttar Pradesh, the heart of the former Aryavarta, the caste alignment follows the order given below: The Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Khattris, the Kayasthas, the Vaishya castes, the Ahir, the Kurmi, the Kahar, other low artisans, such as the Chamar, the Pasi and the tribal groups, including the degraded 'criminal tribes'. The Brahmans, the Kshatriyas and the Khattris are land-holders, *zamindars* and *taluqdars;* the Kayasthas are the most literary caste; the occupancy tenants and peasants have a higher status than the majority of the artisan castes and the tribal groups.

It is therefore legitimate to hold that the higher castes are connected with land as owners or with superior rights over it; those of the artisans who are considered indispensable to the functioning of the social economy come next in importance; and the lower artisans, who are also desired, are kept at a distance for social and ceremonial purposes.

Although the castes, in many cases, can be identified with function and this is true in a general sense in the case of artisan castes, such as potters, weavers, fishermen, oil-pressers, there is hardly any correspondence between castes and occupations as we ascend or descend the social ladder. The tribes cannot be identified with any particular occupation and among the higher castes some have traditional functions but in practice no specific ones are followed by them. In the early Buddhistic literature mention is made of the various occupations of the Brahmans. The *Dasabrahmana Jataka* gives a list of ten classes of Brahmans; physicians, messengers, tax collectors, wood cutters, tradesmen, cultivators, shepherds, butchers, military guards and hunters. Manu also describes various functions of Brahmans and the status each group occupies in the social ladder. Some Brahmans are not regarded with respect due to their occupations. Many poor Brahmans are in fact religious mendicants, many suffer from social stigma due to their association with funeral rites or for serving the lower castes. In a recent survey of several villages in Uttar Pradesh, we found sixty per cent of the artisan castes did not follow, nor did they ever follow, their traditional occupations. The Jaiswars though Chamar by caste have been cooks and bearers, and the Chamar and the Teli (oil pressers) of Mirzapur are agriculturists today, as they were before.

Social Distance. Attempts have been made from time to time to evaluate the social distance between the castes. The basis of such social distance is the fear, among higher castes, of pollution which results from proximity to, or contact with, the lower castes. When a Brahman received a gift from another person of his own caste, he had to acknowledge it in a loud voice; when from a Rajanya or Kshatriya, in a gentle voice; when from a Vaishya in a whisper, and when from a Sudra he acknowledges it only in his own mind, thus indicating the pollution involved in accepting gifts from the lower castes. In Madras, a Pariah is said to pollute a high caste Hindu by approaching within a distance of sixty-four feet. A Nayar may pollute a man of higher caste by touching him; members of the Kammalan group, including masons, blacksmiths, carpenters and leather workers, pollute at a distance of twenty-four feet; toddy drawers at thirty-six feet;

cultivators at twenty-eight feet; and so on. The social distance observed in Madras has been accounted for by the *mana* concept which makes avoidance compulsory to escape the evil consequences of superior *mana*. The Holiya, a low caste, avoid the Brahmans as they think that the *mana* of the Brahman, unless made innocuous by taboos and prohibitions, may cause them misfortune and disaster. That is why, when the Brahmans enter the *parachari* or settlements of the Holiyas, they have to undergo elaborate ordeals of purification; they may be lightly beaten with shoes to be rendered harmless. Similar practices, reported by Hutton, are met with among the Naga tribes. We also find similar precautions taken by the Munda tribes to ward off dangers of nearness to strangers. Untouchability appears to be mutual; the higher castes avoid the lower castes for fear of pollution, and the lower castes avoid the higher for fear of being affected by the superior *mana* of the latter. In spite of what has been said, it is difficult to accept the origin of the caste structure on the *mana* principle. The *mana* concept is more or less general among primitive tribes everywhere, but did not develop into a characteristic social segmentation as in India.

Other Explanations. The *Rigveda* often mentions the classes of population as Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya but, as Apte has argued, the non-mention of the fourth or lowest class, except in the *Purusha Sukta,* does not prove that it did not exist then. If the earlier and later periods of the Rigvedic Age differed at all with respect to the development of these social classes, it was in the reorganization and consolidation of the fourth class which presumably received, to its ultimate deterioration, vast accretions in the intervening period, in the shape of the natives of India who were absorbed into the Aryan fold. The actual mention of the caste system in Avestan literature as comprising of the priest, the charioteer (the chief of warriors), the agriculturist and the artisan and an identical division of society in ancient India may point to a common origin of the caste system, specially because the Indo-Aryans are only a branch of the same race which moved towards Persia. The Sudras, according to Apte, existed in the Rigvedic

Age though mention of them is found only once or at best twice. The inclusion of the natives of the country, variously known as the Dasa and the Dasyu in the Sudra class, delegated the Sudras to an inferior status and their dilution of blood kept pace with the absorption of the indigenes. If the fourfold division is found in the *Rigveda,* it is probable, as Apte has argued, that the caste system was not formulated in the Rigvedic Age. A comparison of the Indian caste order with the social stratification as existed in Rome and Greece (on the basis of which M. Senart traced the caste system as the normal development of the ancient Aryan institutions, from the *gens, curia* and *tribe* of Roman people, from the *family, phratria* and *phule* of ancient Greece) points to a common origin of the higher castes in India and goes against Ghurye's theory that the cradle of caste was in the land of the Ganges from where it diffused to other parts of the country.

Bonnerjee thinks that the caste system was introduced by the Indo-European conquerors and that it had its origin in those primitive superstitions and magical beliefs which the Indo-Europeans were, according to him, possessed with. Bonnerjee would find it difficult to explain why outside India, although social stratification has been found to exist, hereditary classes did not develop. As Roy has pointed out, neither the Patesis or priest-magistrates of Sumerian cities, nor the ancient Egyptian Pharaohs of the Fifth Dynasty who as priests of the sun god combined in themselves the kingly as well as priestly offices, nor the ancient Cretan officers who combined in themselves the functions of both priest and king, nor the ancient Gallic Druids appear to have constituted a separate hereditary caste. If Bonnerjee thinks that the germs of caste were all that the Indo-Europeans and the Dravidians possessed, and from these germs there grew up in India the whole complicated system of caste, then it must be pointed out that such germs also existed among the primitive and aboriginal tribes of India, as Hutton has conclusively proved.

To Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, the Hindu caste system was rather the outcome of the interaction between the Indo-Aryan *varna* system, on the one hand, and the tribal system of the pre-Dravidian, and the occupational class-system of the Dravidian, on the other. The religious element that kneaded and leavened the resultant dough and set its seal on the perfected system was, besides the Indo-Aryan concept of *karma*, a certain 'taboo holiness' that came to be attached to the Brahman for his accredited possession of a special spiritual energy (*Brahma-Sakti*) born of the predominance of the holy qualities (*satva guna*), sustained and stabilized through well-disciplined continence. The fact that this Indo-Aryan concept of *Brahma-Sakti,* along with the associated concepts of *Kshatra-Sakti* and *Vaishya-Sakti,* happened to fall in line with, and so came to be regarded as a mere sub-limited manifestation of, the pre-Dravidian's concept of 'soul substance', with its associated taboos, and with the psychic power attributed by the Dravidian to priest-magicians, facilitated the later adoption by the cultured Dravidians, of the Aryan theory of the spiritual values of the *varnas* with their respective dominant *gunas* and appropriate *karmas* or functions. And the result was an attempt at a gradation of castes (as sub-divisions of the four primary *varnas*) among the numerous classes and communities based on occupational, racial, sectarian and other distinctions that had long existed in the Dravidian country and that now came to be consolidated under the pilotage of Indo-Aryan sacerdotal legists, presumably with the increasing cooperation of Dravidian reformists, as part of the comprehensive socio-religious policy since known as Hinduism. Roy does not believe that caste, as a more or less unalterable social structure that it now is in India, had emerged either in the pre-Dravidian epoch of tribes, or in the Dravidian epoch which was an epoch of classes. Roy finds analogous ideas regarding the concept of *mana* or soul substance between the pre-Dravidian forest tribes, the proto-Dravidians and the Indo-Aryans and thinks that they would appear to have acted and reacted upon each other with the increasingly close contact of different cultures and partial inter-mixture of the different races in India. This view corroborates the theory that caste is a composite structure, and, though the various cultural groups referred to by Roy are vaguely defined, the fact that the caste system has assumed such complexity in India is due to the clash of cultures and contact of races.

The use of the word 'caste', originally of Portuguese derivation, which meant nothing more than social division, to signify the entire social system of the Hindus has naturally complicated the issue. As K. de B. Codrington has pointed out, the abstract, semi-literary and wholly arbitrary definitions of the Portuguese word 'caste' should be avoided and we should revert to the Sanskrit words which were used by the ancients to describe the social grouping. That will give the clue to the origin of the unique system.

The word *varna* means colour as well as class, but the three high castes were originally distinguished one from the other by the various shades of colour that were found in the earlier days, resulting from the inter-mixture between the immigrants of Indo-Aryan racial stock and the indigenes, either of pre-Dravidian or proto-Mediterranean racial affiliation. Various factors contributed to such race mixture: scarcity of women among the invading group; the settled life with a house and all that it connotes among the indigenous population which naturally attracted the nomadic elements of the immigrant population; highly developed Dravidian culture with its matriarchal system, temple-worship of the mother goddess, rites, rituals and temple architecture, priesthood and learning; all these have contributed to a racial miscegenation.

The clash of culture and contact of races crystallized social groupings in India, and endogamous groups were formed which jealously guarded their racial purity and cultural integrity against wholesale admixture and miscegenation. The three *varnas,* or more, resulting from hybridization, have tried to maintain these claims to superior status by keeping to themselves the important professions and avocations and jealously restricting the liberties of others with respect to these means of livelihood. The influence of the Brahmans was utilized for imposing the *varna* tradition upon the social conditions found in the country and, incidentally, to include within their fold the indigenous tribes and castes and social groups. The ancient literature of the country bears ample proof of class struggles consequent upon a social monopoly of the learned professions and occupations, and the fact that rights claimed by the Brahmans had to be conceded in special cases to others is proof that social justice demanded such a reorientation of attitude, but the political supremacy of the higher social groups helped to maintain such monopolistic social attitudes.

The caste system in India, identified with Brahmanism or the three original *varnas,* had, in due course, to concede rights and accommodate ambitious social groups and thus a hierarchical organization evolved due to impacts between 'pressure groups'. The higher castes or the original *varnas* had to admit other social groups and rank them as 'clean' as opposed to those who were 'unclean' both of body and mind, in race as well as in culture. The various social groups which possess little social status in the caste system, but are yet units of it, have been recruited from the indigenous populations, pre-Dravidian and proto-Mediterranean, Australoids and Dravidians (to mention linguistic groups) and, although a sort of uniformity of culture is evident, detailed investigations would prove fundamental differences between them. Nesfield said that the superiority or inferiority of occupation is represented in the hierarchy of the castes. We should think that the status of the caste depends upon the degree of purity of blood and the extent of isolation maintaind by the social groups. The Brahmans have maintained greater racial purity. The tribal groups have also maintained their purity of blood and have kept away from contacts and they represent today, as before, the lowest social status. In between both there are innumerable social groups which differ with respect to their blood and their cultural affinities. The whole of this system is perhaps miscalled the Hindu caste system.

CONCLUSIONS

Utility of the System. It has been customary to condemn caste as a criminal institution which has been inhuman and unjust in its application and which has stagnated the Hindu religion, having outlived its utility. There have been writers who have pleaded for the retention of the system in a modified form, but there has been unanimity in the condemnation of the caste system as it is today. In view of this it is essential to draw attention to some important and significant socio-economic functions which the system has been fulfilling within the framework of Hindu society.

Looking at the system from the individual's point of view, it provides a security which no degree of unworthiness and incapability on his part will deprive him of unless, of course, he breaks the caste norms. He is assured of employment, shelter, protection and marriage. In the event of a disability he is not faced with disaster. In sum, caste is one's main line of defence in so far as it provides socio-economic security within a permanent milieu which is not based on changing individual caprices. Caste norms provide guidance to the individual in the ordering of his daily personal routine and social behaviour. By providing a common forum for collective effort and agitation, one's caste increases the chances of mobility for an individual. Thus, the Kayastha now regarded only next to the Brahman in North India were only a clean Sudra caste in the 18th century.

A caste provides free training and education to its members in the skills in which it is traditionally proficient.

One of the most important functions of the caste system has been to carve out a place for any kind of a group or community, whether it is social, occupational, racial or religious, within the broad framework of society without asking it to surrender its own individual way of life. Caste has made Hindu society a liberal federation. Integration in so varied a country as India could have been achieved only through such an ingenious system or through despotism and totalitarianism. It is the caste system which has provided a way for assimilating outside influences and groups, like the tribes for instance. Religious and social revolts which have been punished with death by burning and stoning by other higher religions, have resulted in India only in the addition of new castes to the main system. In fact, the caste system has provided an outlet for very strong individual capacities and a scheme for social adjustment which some writers have compared favourably with the European system of warring nationalities. Caste has bestowed uninterrupted internal peace on, and engendered stability within, the very heterogeneous Hindu society. Provided with such internal integration and strength, Hindu society has faced calmly and adequately disasters and catastrophes of immense magnitude, like external invasions, the proselytizing activities of Christians, coerced conversion to Islam, internal upheavals like the egalitarian movements dating back to Buddhism, and also natural crises like famines and earthquakes. It has put its stamp not only upon tribal social organization, but also on the daily life of Indian Christians and Muslims.

Basing itself on the *karma* theory, i.e., the belief that one's status in life is determined by one's actions in past incarnations, the caste system has provided not only justification for the present disabilities of the inferior castes, but what is socially more significant, also an excellent motive for the peaceful acceptance of the present conditions along with the incentive for efforts to perform what are socially regarded as good actions, in order to ensure a better future. By so providing for strict adherence to custom as also the possibility of a cure for frustration, social solidarity has been maintained uninterrupted by any conflicts.

Caste has also performed a silent function, though of only sentimental value. In Hindu society there is no peace of mind for a couple until they get a son, because without him there is no heaven nor peace hereafter. It has been found that inbreeding leads to a preponderance of males; and by prescribing endogamy the caste system has soothed the minds of thousands of generations of Hindus.

In view of the functions which the caste system has so excellently performed, scientific investigators like Hutton have pleaded that caste is a good institution which has proved its worth and should be reformed, not rooted out. Untouchability, exploitation of one caste by another and such other harmful concomitants of the system should be done away with, and not the whole system; the broken, poisoned finger should be amputated, not the whole hand.

Uniqueness of Caste in India. Caste in India is unique mainly because it is a composite institution, having a complex origin in the combination of geographical, historical, ethnic, social, economic, religious and political factors which has been operative only in India. These various factors have been enumerated by Hutton. He points out the geographical isolation of India; the primitive association of the power of transmission of qualities with food; primitive beliefs about totemism, taboo, *mana* and soul-stuff or life matter; ideas about ritual purity and pollution and the possibility of purification; the cultural role of the joint family, and the institutions of ancestor worship and the sacramental meal; the belief in past and future births and the *karma* theory; the belief in the magic associated with various occupations; economic guilds; the clash between matrilineal and patrilineal ways of life and between races resulting in colour prejudice and notions about superiority and inferiority; and the development of socio-religious classes with exclusive privileges.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ghurye, G. S., *Caste and Class in India* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1950).
Hutton, J. H., *Caste in India.*
Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society,* Chapter XII.
MacIver, R. M. and C. H. Page, *Society,* Chapter XIV.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Definition of tribe. Differences between caste and tribe. Group dynamics: conversion of castes into tribes. Social organization among Indian tribes: general features; specific illustrations: the Andaman Islanders, the Kadar, the Ho, the Munda, the Khond, the Gond, the Khasi and the Toda.

WHAT IS A TRIBE?

ALTHOUGH tribe, caste, sect, racial group and class are the various types of social groups found in India, it is the tribe and the caste which dominate, the former among primitive communities and the latter in Hindu society. Much confusion has arisen in the past due to the indiscriminate use of these two words; they have been used by many as synonyms, and therefore, many tribes have been described as caste while a number of castes have received tribal designation.

When one looks into the definitions given by various anthropologists, one is bound to be impressed by the dissimilarity of their views as regards what constitutes a tribe. Kinship ties, common territory, one language, joint ownership, one political organization, absence of internecine strife have all been referred to as the main characteristics of a tribe. Some anthropologists have not only not accepted some of the above characteristics, but also stoutly denied some of them to be characteristics of a tribe. Thus, Rivers did not mention habitation in a common territory as a vital feature of tribal organization, although others like Perry have insisted on it, saying that even nomadic tribes roam about within a definite region. Radcliffe-Brown has given instances of one section of a tribe fighting another from his Australian data. The only conclusion one can draw from such diversity of learned opinion is that the views of each anthropolgist arise from the type of data with which he is most familiar. One can, therefore, make a list of universal characteristics, some of which would define a tribe anywhere.

In tribal India a tribe is definitely a territorial group; a tribe has a traditional territory, and emigrants always refer to it as their home. The Santhal working in the Assam tea gardens refer to particular regions of Bihar or Bengal as their home.

All members of a tribe are not kin of each other, but within every Indian tribe kinship operates as a strong, associative, regulative and integrating principle. The consequence is tribal endogamy and the division of a tribe into clans and sub-clans and so on. These clans etcetera, being kin groups, are exogamous.

Members of an Indian tribe speak one common language, their own or/and that of their neighbours. Intra-tribal conflict on a group-scale is not a feature of Indian tribes. Joint ownership of property, wherever present, as for instance among the Ho, is not exclusive. Politically, Indian tribes are under the control of the State governments, but within a tribe there may be a number of *panchayats* corresponding to the heterogeneity, racial and cultural, of the constituent population in a village or in adjacent villages.

There are other distinguishing features of Indian tribes. Thus, there are their dormitory institution; the absence of institutional 'schooling' for boys and girls; distinctive customs regarding birth, marriage and death; a moral code different from that of Hindus and Muslims; peculiarities of religious beliefs and rituals which may distinguish tribesmen even from low-caste Hindus.

TRIBE AND CASTE

Since, as has already been pointed out, tribe and caste have been, sometimes, mistaken for each other, it is important to show their similarity and difference. *The Imperial Gazetteer* defines a tribe as a collection of families, which have a common name and a common dialect and which occupy, or profess to occupy, a common territory and which have been, if they are not, endogamous. Now, a caste also is a collection of families bearing a common name, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory, very often speaking a common dialect and always endogamous. When the same caste is found in two rather widely separated regions, speaking different dialects, there is no social relationship or inter-marriage between them, so that the groups may be taken as distinct castes though bearing a common name. Among lower castes endogamy also is not strictly observed; and there are tribes which are strictly endogamous, making the distinction between tribe and caste rather obscure. The presence of some kind of a political organization is not a distinctive feature of tribes only as caste *panchayats* are a living force in the life of the Indian people.

Some investigators have emphasized that tribes are different from castes in so far as the former represent self-sufficient economic units, whereas the latter are only sub-units within a wider economic structure.

Max Weber in his celebrated essay on Social Structures regards an Indian tribe as converted into an Indian caste when it loses a territorial meaning and significance. He also points out that, whereas within a tribe there may be differences of rank and status, all members of a caste have one common rank.

An important distinction, rather surprisingly neglected, is the attitude towards Hindu rituals and theology and the Hindu priest. It has been reported from all those tribes which require the services of the Hindu priest, who symbolizes Hindu theology and ritual, that he, and all that he represents, is regarded differently, as alien though important and useful, than members of a caste regard him. And a tribe which has completely disowned its own religious practices or knowledge is yet not known. Tribesmen in Middle India, who call themselves Rajputs and profess the Hindu religion, know more about the tribal *bonga* than about Hindu gods, and do not disbelieve in them although they do not worship them, at least openly.

GROUP DYNAMICS: TRIBE INTO CASTE

From very early times, there has been a gradual and silent change from tribe to caste. This change has taken place in a number of ways, and it is believed that most of the lower or exterior castes of today were formerly tribes. Actually the earliest references to the Hindu caste system mention three *Aryan* castes and a fourth, or a fourth and a fifth caste of *Sudra* and *Chandala* comprised of dark-skinned, nose-less tribal people. This process of the incorporation of tribes into castes has, therefore, proceeded ever since the coming of the Aryan-speaking people into India.

Risley has mentioned four processes by which the transformation of tribes into castes is effected. The processes are: (1) The leading men of an aboriginal tribe, having somehow got on in the world and become independent landed proprietors, manage to enrol themselves in one of the more distinguished castes. They usually set up as Rajputs, their first step being to 'rope in' a Brahman priest who invents for them a pedigree hitherto unknown; (2) a number of aborigines embrace the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name; (3) a whole tribe of aborigines or a large section of a tribe enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism, under the name of a new caste which, though claiming an origin of remote antiquity, is readily distinguishable by its name; and (4) a whole tribe of aborigines, or a section thereof, become gradually converted to Hinduism without abandoning their tribal designation. To these four processes may be added a fifth in which an individual member of an aboriginal or semi-aboriginal tribe adopts the surname and *gotra* of a particular caste, and after some time marries into that caste. His wealth and influence attract members of the caste he aspires to belong to and thus in the long run he may establish himself as a permanent member of that caste. Culture contact with Hindu castes leads to the adoption by the tribes of Hindu beliefs, rituals, customs and to participation in Hindu festivals and attendance at Hindu temples.

Poverty has been found to lead the members of a priestly caste to degrading themselves and their occupation by becoming the spiritual guides of the aspiring tribes. They enjoin upon the tribes the adoption of the social customs and religious observances of their Hindu neighbours, thereby reducing social and religious differences to the minimum. There is no formal abandonment of one ritual for another. These Brahmans insist on the theory that the tribal groups have lapsed from a higher social status with a traditional ancestry, however remote that may be. They re-admit the tribal groups to their supposed earlier social status if the latter agree to go through ceremonial purification. The Kharwar of Palamau in Bihar and of Mirzapur (U.P.) who claim a high origin and wear the sacred thread, the Polia of Dinajpur, Rungpur, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar who claim to have originated from the Kshatriyas and call themselves 'Rajbansi', afford the required examples.

The student of tribal problems is often bewildered by the queer disregard which the tribesmen seem to show towards the disabilities which become part of their life after their inclusion within the Hindu caste hierarchy. It is only the lucky few who pose and are accepted as Rajputs. The majority of tribes become, on conversion, depressed or exterior castes. They are socially inferior and stigmatized, and economically depressed, states of unenviable existence which are alien to them as tribesmen. Why then do they choose to become castes? As a result of culture contacts, the tribesmen have become conscious of the superior material culture of the non-tribal people. These non-tribal people have become their rulers and have styled themselves as superior, racially as also culturally. Consequently, being a Hindu has an immense prestige value in the eyes of the tribal communities. Unhealthy contact has led to such a perversion of values that the free, happy tribal folk choose to barter away their free life for the servile existence of a Hindu low caste.

The high castes and the tribes are at two opposite ends of the Indian social structure; the intermediate rungs are filled by a large number of castes which have either progressed from the tribal stage or have fallen from a previous higher status by non-observance of customary rites and practices, by inter-marriages forbidden by the caste code, by adopting new occupations and novel customs and by eating forbidden food. These intermediary castes are functionally similar to an industrial middle-class.

As the tribes enter into the caste hierarchy, their attitude towards life undergoes significant modification. The importance of the blood bond or the kinship group is forced to the background; the common economy of the clan is superseded by individual desire for gain and property; money assumes an importance unknown in tribal society; and the ties of moral obligation, duty and reciprocity give way to a nexus based on economic gain and self-interest. Older values are lost; the choice of leader and spouse is guided by newly acquired values. The tribal elders are pushed to the background, the priests are required to satisfy a more exacting clientele, and public opinion finds out excuses for failures and new behaviour patterns. Individuality becomes a virtue and a desire for social equality is manifested. The clan chief and sacerdotal head lose their importance and power. New customs find favour with the people and new prescriptions for their old maladies gain popularity with astonishing success.

Social Organization in Tribal India

The social organization of a small group is the organization of inter-related roles at a particular time within it as expressive of certain permanent or semi-permanent structural principles. The social organization of a great association (i.e., a group of groups) is the pattern of inter-group relations within it. Hindu social organization consists of the pattern of inter- and intra-caste relations. Tribal social organization is different in so far as there is not much inter-tribal contact and communication in India except where geographical contiguity has forced it upon some tribes. The Munda and the Oraon of Chota Nagpur afford an excellent example. When we refer to tribal social organization we imply those generalizations which we may make about social structure after a comparative study of the intra-tribal group-relationship patterns.

Social organization would consist of the inter-relations between a particular type of groups, viz., those groups which make social life possible. The family, school (if any), dormitory, clan, men's club are examples of such groups. Groups of people engaged in economic pursuits comprise the economic organization of a tribe; and groups like the *panchayats* constitute its political organization. The former sustains, and the latter controls and regulates the social organization. The inter-relation between the three would present the total pattern of tribal organization. Religion and religious groups are both social as also regulative.

On the basis of comparative data it has been suggested by T. C. Das that tribal organization in India reveals seven types. He bases this classification on the difference in the type of units found in a tribe, and the nature of their inter-relations. It is believed that regulation of marriage is the most important function of these units; and, therefore, these groups have been characterized as either agamous, or endogamous, or exogamous, or orthogamous. This last word has been coined by Das to indicate marriage with persons of a selected group.

The seven types may be illustrated as under:

(1) Agamous tribe with agamous local groups subdivided into exogamous families:

Agamous Tribe
Λ
Agamous Local Groups
Λ Λ
Exogamous Families
Λ Λ Λ Λ

(2) Endogamous tribe with exogamous clans subdivided into exogamous families:

→Tribe←
Λ
←Clans→
Λ Λ
←Families→

(3) Endogamous tribe with exogamous moieties subdivided into exogamous families:

→Tribe←
Λ
←Moieties→
Λ Λ
←Families→

(4) Endogamous tribe with exogamous phratries subdivided into exogamous clans further subdivided into exogamous families:

→Tribe←
Λ
←Phratries→
Λ Λ
←Clans→
Λ Λ Λ Λ
←Families→

(5) Endogamous tribe with exogamous moieties subdivided into exogamous phratries subdivided into exogamous clans further subdivided into exogamous families:

→Tribe←
Λ
←Moieties→
Λ Λ
←Phratries→
Λ Λ Λ Λ
←Clans→
ΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛ
←Families→

(6) Endogamous tribe with exogamous sub-tribes subdivided into exogamous clans further subdivided into exogamous families:

→Tribe←
Λ
←Sub-tribes→
Λ Λ
←Clans→
Λ Λ Λ Λ
←Families→

(7) Endogamous tribe with orthogamous clans divided into exogamous sub-clans subdivided into exogamous families:

→Tribe←
Λ
Orthogamous Clans
Λ Λ
←Sub-clans→
Λ Λ Λ Λ
←Families→

The above classification is not exhaustive; it has omitted social organizations, like those of the Toda, for example.

The Andaman Islanders. The Andaman pygmies are one of the crudest peoples of the world, and several tribes were found by Man and Radcliffe-Brown. Both of them report the existence of the family consisting of a married couple and their children. Each tribe is a linguistic group and does not have any socio-economic significance. A tribe is, however, divided into several local groups, each comprised of several families, which own the land. These local groups have, however, been reported to be in the process of extinction. The former existence of what have been loosely called 'septs' is reported by Portman. Radcliffe-Brown did not find them, but he opines that these may have been groups comprised of four or five local groups which have friendly relations with each other and meet on occasions like festival gatherings. These local groups having no distinctive names, the possibility of totemistic association does not arise at all. A man or woman belongs to the local group in which he or she was born.

The local groups may be coast or forest dwellers. They are mostly semi-nomadic although the forest-dwellers are less so. Consequently, they live in camps which may be temporary or permanent, a sort of headquarters if of the latter type. Hunting camps are a third category and are the least permanent. The group is mainly a residential kin group. It consists of married couples (i.e. the Andamanese family) and of bachelors' huts of unmarried men and widowers without children. Unmarried women and widows live attached to some families though earlier Man reported a spinsters' hut.

The Kadar. Like the Andamanese, the Kadar also depend upon food gathering and some hunting although they have no hospitable waters for them to fish in. Thus, they are more like the Andamanese forest-dwellers. The Kadar family is a well-defined group, being strongly bilateral in character; each side is equally stressed or neglected. The residence is patrilocal but a high regard is shown for the maternal relations. The important social position of the maternal uncle is supposed to be possibly due to diffusion from the matrilineal Kerala people.

Names refer to some actual traits of a person or his parents or to some aspired-for qualities. There is no inheritance of names.

Property is always meagre and its ownership too vague. There are no customary inheritance laws. Nonetheless, younger and nearer relatives have a claim on an individual's personal property. The older relatives are likely to be already earning hands themselves and would not therefore care much for a meagre portion of a meagre inheritance.

The Kadar live in bamboo-made huts which are often nothing more than windscreens. Fifteen or twenty such huts constitute a village.

The Ho, the Munda, the Khond and the Gond. A Ho village, built on high ground or a ridge, in the midst of an undulating surface, is placed within a *pir*, division, there being 26 such *pir* in Kolhan. At the boundary of the village stand in irregular formation a number of gray stone slabs firmly fixed in the ground which are tombstones of the Ho cemetry, *sasan*. The village itself is split into two or more *tola*, each *tola* being separated from others by clean open spaces. Some villages have an *akhara* (dancing arena) and others can boast of a *gitiora* (dormitory) overlooking the *akhara*.

The Ho as a tribe are endogamous. The tribe is divided into exogamous clans known as *killi*, which are often associated with totemism. The *killi* are subdivided into exogamous families.

Among the Munda tribes of Chota Nagpur several totemic groups or territorial units constitute a *parha* or *pir* presided over by a divisional headman. Several *parha* or *pir* make a tribal area. Among the Khond of Orissa and the Ganjam Agency tracts, the tribe is divided into a large number of exogamous village units or *gochi* which combine into small or big territorial units so that affiliation to the village does not exclude loyalty to the larger territorial unit.

The Gond are divided into a large number of clans which can be grouped under four classes. Some clans like the *Goha* (lizard), *Tekam* (teak plant), *Loha* (iron), *Tirgam* (fire) are totemic groups. Some other clans like the *Subbedar, Mujor* (obstinate), *Pedam* (village headman), *Lonchatia* (salt licker), are nickname clans. The *Mahanadia, Jaunpuria, Sargujia, Ratanpuria* clans are local or territorial units, while there are clans which are named after eponyms such as *Shandilya, Kashyapa* and others. Some of these clans have split into smaller units either due to their migration and adoption of new cultural traits. The Gond are also found to be grouped into the three classes of aristocrats, tenants and labourers. The Raj Gond, including *Malguzars* and *Patels*, represent the aristocracy. The Dhur Gond (dust Gond) are the tenants. Also classed as tenantry are the Pardhan and the Ojha, musicians and magicians respectively. The labourers are those who work as *kamia* (farm labourers) and do not have enough land or property of their own to support themselves.

The Khasi. Living in the hills of Assam, the Khasi are a matrilineal tribe. Like some other tribes of these parts, they are divided into various social classes. The Khasi have four such classes: the *Ki Siem* (Royal clan), *Ki Lyngoh* (Priestly clan), the Minister clan and the Plebean clan. There is a definite order of social precedence among the clans but intermarriage between them is not banned. The Khasi are an endogamous tribe divided into exogamous clans subdivided into exogamous matrilocal families.

The Toda. An excellent example of dual organization within a peculiar setting is provided by the Toda of the Nilgiri Hills. The Toda are an endogamous tribe divided into endogamous moieties, Teivaliol and Tartharol, the former subdivided into six exogamous totemic clans and the latter into twelve. The larger Tarthar division owns the sacred dairies and buffaloes, and the Teivali division consists of, among others, the sacred dairymen who tend and take care of the sacred herds. The family is patrilocal and descent is patrilineal, but enough recognition is given to either line of descent. Both polygyny as also polyandry are practised, giving rise to group marriage. A Toda belongs simultaneously to a patrilineal as also to a matrilineal clan. The former membership operates with relation to property inheritance, and the latter membership becomes operative at ritualistic funeral ceremonies.

Further evidence of dual structure is available from the matrilineal Garo society of Assam. They are divided into two phratries (*katchis*), *Marak* and *Sangma* by name. They do not intermarry between the two phratries. Dual organization has been also reported from the Lonte and the Kolhen (Kuki tribes).

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Das, T. C., Article in the *Indian Journal of Social Work* (1953, Vol. 14, No. 3) on "Social Organization of Tribal People".

Hodson, T. C., *The Primitive Culture of India* (The Royal Asiatic Society, 1922).

Majumdar, D. N., *Races and Cultures of India* (Lucknow: Universal, 1951), Chapter VII.

CHAPTER XVI

TRIBAL INDIA: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Introductory: geographical location; linguistic affinities; racial affinities; cultural levels; Elwin's classification and its criticism; suggestions for classification on cultural basis; economic grading. Present conditions and problems: economic and socio-cultural problems arising out of isolation and exploitation. Action by the Government: British policy; post-1947 policy: constitutional safeguards. The prospect.

INTRODUCTORY

IN A VAST country like India there are naturally vast minorities presenting immense problems. But what is disconcerting is the general unawareness—the vast ignorance—that people in general show about these minorities and their problems. Even the governments, at the Centre and in the States, having to bear the burden of the consequences of past policies, are only nibbling at the edges of these problems. India, with a total population of about 360 million, has as a vital constituent of its population the tribal population totalling about 20 million and almost double that number of backward classes. Who these tribes and backward classes are we have already said elsewhere in this book. We may now turn our attention to their geographical location, racial and linguistic affinities; and to their problems; and to what has been done, what is being done, and what may be done for them.

Geographical Location. Before partition one of the best known of the geographical areas of the sub-continent harbouring a tribal population was the north-western frontier of India, now in Pakistan. These tribal people are currently engaged in a political movement similar, though much more vocal and aggressive, to political movements among a section of the Naga tribes and the Chota Nagpur tribes. The Naga want an independent Nagaland; the Munda want socio-economic, cultural and some political autonomy within the Indian Union; and the militant Pakhtoons of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border want an independent Pakhtoonistan. We will not refer any more to these Pakhtoons, famous for their sturdy physique, beards and turbans, militant temperament, military prowess and a well-organized clan *(jirga)* system, since they now fall within Pakistan.

Looking at the physical map of India, and the distribution of tribal population thereon, we find that both geography as well as tribal demography permit a regional grouping and a zonal classification. On the basis of geographical propinquity, three tribal zones can be demarcated in India. These may be called the North-North-Eastern, the Central or the Middle, and the Southern zones.

The North-North-Eastern zone would lie approximately between 31°7′N and 35°0′N at its western end, 23°30′N and 28°0′N on its eastern end, and between 77°33′E and 97°0′E, having for its outposts Simla and Leh in the west and the Lushai Hills and the Mishmi Tract in the east. The region broadens at its ends and narrows down in the middle. The tribal areas of eastern Kashmir, East Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, northern Uttar Pradesh and Assam fall in this zone. Sikkim also falls in this region. Though geographically closely linked, Bengal and Bihar are excluded on ethnic grounds.

The Central or the Middle zone would lie approximately between latitudes 20°0′N and 25°0′N and longitudes 73°0′E and 90°0′E. It would include Bengal, Bihar, southern Uttar Pradesh, southern Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, northern Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Northern Rajasthan, southern Bombay and Bastar form the peripheral areas of this zone. In area, and numbers it comes first among the three zones.

South-east of the Central zone would lie the Southern zone, approximately between latitudes 8°0′N and 20°0′N and longitudes 75°0′E and 85°0′E. Hyderabad, Mysore, Coorg, Travancore-Cochin, Andhra and Madras fall within this zone. There are also tribal communities in the Nicobar and Andaman Islands off the Madras coast.

Of the three zones the least explored is the North-North-Eastern, and that perhaps explains the low tribal population figure attributed to this area. It is, however, of immense strategic importance as it has a common border with Tibet, China, Burma and Pakistan. It also includes the famous Naga tribes. The Central zone is the best known and most densely populated. Next to it in area, numbers and available ethnographic knowledge is the Southern zone.

This geographical classification finds support in linguistic and racial affinities of the tribal people living in the three zones.

Linguistic Affinities. At present Indians may be divided into four speech-families, viz., the Indo-European (Aryan), the Dravidian, the Austric (Kol or Munda) and the Tibeto-Chinese (or Sino-Tibetan). So far as the tribal people are concerned, the Aryan speech comes into the picture only as a consequence of cultural contact, since almost all our tribal people have pre-Aryan or non-Aryan racial affinities and origins. Language is a powerful mode of transmission of cultures from one area to another, if the two areas speak the same language and share its symbolic meanings and values. However, socio-economic conditions do often play a more dominant role. Thus, the Munda and the Oraon of Chota Nagpur live close to each other, share much of their cultural life but belong to the Austric and Dravidian speech-groups respectively. Although there are only three broad speech-groups to be found in tribal India, the multiplicity of dialects is one of the most complicated problems to be faced in planning rehabilitation. Hutton's anecdote about the seven Sema Naga and their chillies (who, meeting each other on the roadside sat down for their meal, each naming what he carried by a different name but producing only chillies!) is a graphic illustration of the limits to which this multiplicity of dialects can go. In the Central zone most of the tribes have become bilingual, speaking their own dialect as also some form of

Hindustani, Oriya or Bengali, whichever of these is spoken by the neighbouring rural population. Thus, the Oraon and the Munda have a smattering of Hindustani, whereas the Santhal in Bengal can understand Bengali. There are other tribes, like the Baiga, who have completely lost their original language, have picked up the language of their neighbouring areas, Chattisgarhi in the case of the Baiga, though culturally they continue to maintain certain distinctive traits. This fact leads us to the conclusion that not much reliance can be put on language as a basis of classification in tribal India, or on language cultures as better units of study, and it does certainly yield fruitful results to supplement studies of these with other researches.

From the point of view of tribal India, it is found that corresponding to the three geographical regions, we have also three broad linguistic zones. In the North-North-Eastern region most of the tribal people speak some form or other of Sino-Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman. In certain north-eastern areas there is an admixture of the Mon-Khmer (Austric) speech, as, for instance among the Khasi. It has been estimated that in the Naga Hills apart from numerous dialects, sixteen languages are spoken.

In the Central zone the Austric family of languages is dominant, although important tribes like the Oraon and the Kolam, the Khond and the Gond speak languages having a Dravidian affinity. Gondi is still spoken by a million and a half, and is said to be intermediate between the Dravida and the Andhra tongues. In Chota Nagpur, however, the agglutinative Munda languages of the Austric family are spoken, the Munda name having been bestowed on them by Frederick Miller in 1852. These languages lack the verb, and sex-differentiation, the only classificatory device being the differentiation between animate and inanimate.

There is much controversy about the origin of Austro-asiatic speech. In 1907 W. Schmidt described Munda languages as a group including the Mon and Khmer languages of further India. He named this group of languages as Austro-asiatic. A later attempt was made by W. Hevesey to connect the Munda languages with Finno-Ugrian but this has been regarded as 'less convincing' by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf and others. In 1928 Haine-Geldern put forward the suggestion that it was a Mongoloid people who entered India from the north-east and brought with them a neolithic culture and the original languages from which the present Mundaric group is derived. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf has given ethnological support to this, obviously pre-Aryan ('obviously', because complete contact is presupposed between North-East and Middle India which were cut off after the Aryan 'wedge' had been driven east) migration. He lists (1) megalithic ritual of North-East and Middle India; (2) youth dormitories of both the regions; (3) bark fibre-skirts of the Bondo (Middle India) and the Konyak women (of the north-east); and (4) some observed Mongoloid elements in Munda languages. Hutton maintains that the Austric speech was brought to India by the Kolarian-speaking group which entered India 'round the west end of the Himalayas', and by the Mon-Khmer speaking group which came in from the east of the Himalayas. Some of these people have 'an appreciable dash of something that is common to Mongoloid types'.

Down in the south the tribal people speak some form or other of some Dravidian language, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or Canarese or Coorgi. The Kadar of Travancore-Cochin, credited by some as being among the oldest inhabitants of India, speak a Malayalam dialect. Similar to the Aryanization of the Baiga and the Bhil, there has been Dravidianization of significant South Indian tribes like the Chenchu and the Yenadi. Hutton traces the Dravidian family of languages to Asia-Minor wherefrom Mediterranean ethnic elements brought it via Mesopotamia and it finally entered India from the north-west. Thus, the geographical regions (described in the previous section) correspond roughly to the three linguistic zones.

Racial Affinities. Fixing the racial origins or affinities of the tribal communities of India is one of the most complicated tasks that has had to be faced by the Indian anthropologist. There is practically no direct evidence of those ethnic stocks who inhabited different parts of India in pre-historic times.

No startling discoveries of prehistoric human skeletons have been, so far, made in India. The remains of both the 4,500-year old Indus Valley Civilization as well as the 2,50,000 year old Narmada Valley habitation have not provided any clear evidence as regards the ethnic nature of the people who lived then in these areas. The Sind and the Punjab cities are supposed to have been the home of 'peoples of mixed origin and diverse racial types'. Thus the blending of races had already started. Nothing has been as yet said about the racial type of the Narmada Valley man.

Geologists trace back the existence of man in north-western India to the two later glacial advances of Pleistocene time. In Middle India, the Narmada Valley is said to have been inhabited by an early palaeolithic race.

The available knowledge about the racial composition of India in historic times is equally scanty. There is no definite evidence regarding the nature and routes of migration into India and inside India even after the arrival of the Aryans. Therefore, all historical reconstruction regarding the racial history of India has to be based on conjecture.

The first scientific racial classification of India, based on anthropometric and other data, was attempted by Sir Herbert Hope Risley, who supervised the census operations in 1891. He classified the people of India into seven racial types: Turko-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Scytho-Dravidian, Aryo-Dravidian, Mongolo-Dravidian, Mongoloid and Dravidian. These seven types can be reduced to three basic types, viz., the Dravidian, the Mongolian and the Indo-Aryan. The former two types would account for the racial composition of tribal India.

Risley's conclusions have been subjected to criticism and modification. Sir William Crooke—both Risley and Crooke belonged to the Indian Civil Service—writes about a yellow Naga race in the Punjab and the Dasyus of Bengal both having been encountered by Aryans. The Dasyus are described as an inter-mixture between the Dravidians and the Kolarians. The Dravidians are called a Negritic type. These views are no improvement upon Risley.

Seeking the evidence for migrations of peoples mainly in their physical characters, artifacts, customs, folk-tales and language, A. C. Haddon tried to reconstruct the racial background of, among other countries, India. According to him the oldest inhabitants of India must have been the pre-Dravidian jungle tribes, whom he defines merely as an 'existing stratum'. The Dravidians are also described as having lived, perhaps always, in India. This takes his account to the first historical migration into India, that of the Aryans, in the second millenium B.C. They are said to have been followed by the intrusions made by the Sakas, the Pahalava of Persia, the Asiatic Greeks, the Kushans, the Huna and finally the Shan migration into Assam in the 8th century A.D.

Haddon does not throw any helpful light on pre-Aryan India. He regards the central-Indian tribes as the autochthons of India. His important contribution is his criticism of Risley's conclusion that the brachycephals of Western India were Mongolians (or Scythians). Haddon regards the brachycephalic element as post-Mongolian and Alpine in origin.

Baron Egon von Eickstedt goes back to glacial times and assigns a proto-negroid population to South India, which he calls Indo-Negrid. Later entrants into India are described as Veddids after the Veddas of Ceylon, their modern representatives. Inter-mixture between these two gave us, what he calls, the modern Weddid group. Besides this Weddid group, the Indian population is divided into a Melanid and an Indid group. The Weddid group is composed of a Gondid race and a Malid (from Mala meaning mountain) sub-race; the Melanid group of a Melanid race and a Kolid sub-race; and the Indid group of an Indid race and North-Indid sub-race. The Weddid group is characterized as representative of the really genuine ancient Indians. The ancestry of present central Indian tribal communities is assigned to the Weddid and Melanid groups.

S. S. Sarkar also has come to a similar conclusion and regards the Veddoid group of tribes as the most ancient type living in India.

Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf maintains that the Dravidians entered India about the same time as did the Aryans, 2000-1000 B.C. He believes the Dravidian speakers to have entered India by sea along the western coast. Brahui, of Baluchistan, is regarded by him to have probably been the language of a colony whose contacts with the Dravidian speaking people of the south were mainly by sea. He, however, regards the original history of the Dravidians as uncertain, for want of linguistic research. Nevertheless, they are supposed to have consolidated their position in the south about the same time as the Aryans did in the north, the original inhabitants being driven, from the north-west as well as the south, into the hills and forests of Central India, where they have become the tribal communities of today. Regarding their composition, von Fürer-Haimendorf is in agreement with von Eickstedt, and regards the Malid as one of the most primitive human types.

The latest racial classifications of the Indian people are those made by Hutton and Guha, and Majumdar. Guha's classification is based mainly on the anthropometric measurements carried out by him during the 1931 census operations. Hutton who was in over-all charge of the 1931 census, bases his classification, which is almost exactly the same as Guha's, on the latter's findings and brings in linguistic evidence in support of it, tracing the routes of different speech-groups into India and their places of origin.

Guha lists six main races, with nine sub-types:

1. The Negrito.
2. The Proto-Australoid.
3. The Mongoloid:
    - (i) Palaeo-Mongoloids,
        - (a) long-headed,
        - (b) broad-headed;
    - (ii) Tibeto-Mongoloids.
4. The Mediterranean:
    - (i) Palaeo-Mediterranean,
    - (ii) Mediterranean,
    - (iii) Oriental type.
5. The Western Brachycephals:
    - (i) Alpinoid,
    - (ii) Dinaric,
    - (iii) Armenoid.
6. The Nordic.

The ancestry of the present tribal population is traced chiefly to the first three types. The Negrito is regarded as the earliest racial element as found, for example, among the Kadar. The Central Indian tribes are assigned to the Proto-Australoid race, and the North-North-Eastern to the Mongoloid race. The Palaeo-Mediterranean stock is also held responsible for the ancestry of some tribal communities.

Guha has summed up his conclusions specifically as regards the racial composition of tribal India, in 1952, as follows:

1. The Kadar, the Irula, and the Paniyan of South India, with frizzly hair, have an undoubted Negrito strain.
2. The tribes of Middle India belong to the Proto-Australoid stock.
3. The brachycephalic Mongoloids of North-Eastern India, with typical features of the face and the eye.
4. A slightly different Mongoloid type with medium stature, high head and medium nose, living in the Brahmaputra Valley.

Majumdar expresses fundamental disagreement with the supporters of an ancient Negrito-strain theory. The Negrito, he writes, is no doubt domiciled in southern Asia but, judging from the tribal population of India today, there is certainly no weighty evidence in support of a Negrito racial stock in India. Negroid features, however, have been reported on the coastal parts of India and the infiltration of Negroid elements must have taken place during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

The evidence for and against a Negrito sub-stratum in India may be summed up as follows:

Seven human skeletons have been found in Northern Gujarat in association with the evidence of a microlithic culture of considerable antiquity; and racially these human skeletons show Hamitic Negroid characteristics. Negrito racial traits are also depicted in the art of Gupta and post-Gupta (A.D. 320-750) India, as in Gupta sculpture and in the Ajanta frescoes.

Hutton has suggested that the contribution of the Negrito people may be responsible for the introduction into India of the cult of the *ficus* tree, ideas about fertility and the souls of the dead and about a demon-guarded Path of the Dead to Paradise, prevalent in parts of Europe, Africa, Oceania and India.

Finally, there are the indecisive anthropometric measurements and the enumeration of the physical features of some tribal communities, like the Kadar, the Irula and the Paniyan, by Guha. S. K. Chatterji points out certain vague and doubtful linguistic resemblances between the Bengali and Oriya *badud*, *badadi* = 'bat' and certain Austro-Asiatic words spoken by the Negrito of Malaya.

The arguments against the existence of a Negrito substratum are heavy.

Aiyappan maintains that the majority of the aboriginal tribes of South-East India have not ethnically or racially originated from different sources from those of the rest of the South Indian people. Some insignificant tribes, like the Kadar, who show frizzly hair can be 'counted on finger tips'. He calls these tribes the flesh of our flesh.

Majumdar has pointed out that while Quatrefages defines Negrito as brachycephalic, Dr. Guha finds the Kadar to be dolicocephalic. The classification of races into groups on the basis of their range of variation in cephalic and nasal measurements is yet not possible. He advances an argument by pointing out that serologically it remains a paradox why the Indian tribes show a small B incidence, though the Negrito are high in B. The high incidence of B blood among the Tharu is explained as being the result of the selective effects of climate and disease, the malarious tracts having been found to be dominated by B.

The anthropometric measurements of Guha, during the '31 census, being based only on 2,000 heads, (and all his other data not having been published), his conclusions do not have enough statistical support to make them acceptable. Besides, the average size of the samples was inadequate, and the C.R.L. method, used to distinguish samples, is not a universally accepted method.

Sarkar has traced the history of the Negrito-strain theory but reported his own failure to discover any on the basis of anthropometry and serology.

The only conclusion that can be drawn is that the existence of the Negrito strain in certain scattered cases does not prove a Negrito sub-stratum; nor is a very late coming of the Negritors proved either. The only safe conclusion in the light of our present information is obvious, viz., that the earliest known inhabitants of India were the proto-Australoids. They may have received some infiltration of African or even Negrito blood in the coastal parts of India at later periods. However, no scientific research can be final and much has yet to be done to find out as to who really were the autochthones of India.

To conclude, racially the tribes of India cannot be put under any particular type or category, India having been the melting pot of races. The generalized types, referred to above, do not account for all the tribes. Thus, the Toda of the Nilgiri Hills are alone, by themselves, without a racial label as yet. Inter-mixture and migrations make the reconstruction of racial history and origins very difficult. Thus, for instance, the now separate Baiga and Bhuiya are being represented as akin, belonging to the one and the same branch of Kolarian-speaking Munda.

Serological and linguistic researches are being conducted, but these have yet to reveal any new aspects of the racial composition of tribal India. However, Chatterji concludes, on a linguistic basis, that there was an immigration into India of Melanesians and Polynesians, citing, as possible evidence, the custom of disposal of the dead by exposure, communal houses, head-hunting, the canoe-cult, the outrigger canoe, and the coconut. Hutton also cites evidence of probable contact between Assam and the Indonesian region.

Cultural Levels. In the previous sections an attempt has been made to present a geographical, linguistic and ethnic picture of tribal India. The historical aspects of this picture have been inevitably conjectural. From the point of view of the problems of tribal India, it is more important to know the exact present conditions, cultural and economic, as also the demographic trends among tribal communities.

Culturally speaking—meaning by culture total modes of living and belief—different tribes can be classified according to their cultural distance from the rural-urban groups. This comparative approach is the most useful in evolving a plan of rehabilitation because it focuses our attention on those problems of tribal India which are the outcome of haphazard contact with, or the isolation of these tribes from, the rural-urban groups.

A decade back Elwin gave nearly such a classification. He described four types of aboriginals, viz., those who are most primitive, live a joint communal life and cultivate with axes; those who, though equally attached to their solitude and ancient traditions, are more individualistic, less occupied with axe-cultivation, more used to outside life and generally less simple and honest than the first category; those, the most numerous, probably 20 million, who under external influence are already on the way to the loss of their tribal culture, religion and social organization; and, finally, he lists tribes like the Bhil and the Naga who are said to be representatives of the old aristocracy of the country, who retain much of their original tribal life, and who, he regards, have won the battle of culture contact. Elwin points out that the whole aboriginal problem consists in finding out ways and means of enabling the tribesmen of the first and second classes to advance direct into the fourth class without having to undergo all the suffering, despair and degradation associated with the third.

Elwin's classification has been so often used as something of a crusaders' manifesto, and therefore it requires to be seriously studied. It takes the right stand in making a dynamic approach to the problem of tribal cultures and advocating advance from one class to another without the despair and degradation that accompany the transition at present. On the other hand, it suffers from some very serious drawbacks. They are as follows:

One: Elwin's analysis suffers from being based on a deep-rooted, but illogical, prejudice against culture contact between tribal and non-tribal people. There can be no doubt about the bad effects which contacts with non-tribal people have had on tribal communities, but the cause of these evil effects have been, not so much the culture-contact, as the circumstances under which such contact has taken place, and the type of non-tribal people—moneylenders, *sowcars,* contractors etc.—through whom this contact has got established. Besides, it cannot be denied either that isolation has created its own problems, of extreme backwardness and inability to benefit from any governmental measures designed to benefit them. Elwin would have us believe that culture-contact with non-tribal people brings tribal people into contact with the insidious animosity of unscrupulous elements in rural and urban areas, like the *sowcar,* for instance. True; but there is also the possibility of a minority of informed well-wishers, like Elwin, taking up their cause. When isolated, the tribesman has to fight a losing battle against ruthless nature, a desiccated, eroded soil, deforested hill-slopes, and erratic rivers. In such circumstances over-specialization necessitated by an extremely unkind geographical environment leads to a check in growth, and may even lead to extinction. The Korwa of Uttar Pradesh are an instance. On the other hand, the progress that sections of the Gond and the Bhil have made is due to contact. Such a trained and impartial ethnographer as S. C. Roy and anthropologically trained administrator as J. H. Hutton praised the good effects of contact between tribesmen and the government, Christian missions and Hinduism. The educative role of these contacts was particularly stressed by Roy. Thus, Elwin is wrong when he thinks that class one of the tribal people have no problems or that they present no problems to us.

Two: Elwin makes a fatal mistake when he says that the tribesmen of the first and second categories have to advance direct into the fourth class. It appears as if this fourth class were the desired goal where brakes to progress must be applied. Such a plan to maintain the *status quo* is, to say the least, a negative plan. While there can be no disagreement with Elwin's stress on the need for a smooth transition, there can be no doubt either that backwardness is no substitute for the amenities of modernized life. There can be no justification at all for denying to the tribal communities the comforts of civilization even if that means a material change in their culture-patterns; it is they, not their distinctive way of living, which is more precious. However, it is true that, up to date, contacts with so-called civilization, the culture of the cities, have brought about disintegration as is borne out by so many of the tribes of Middle India. It is in this connexion that anthropology can help; planned contact rather than isolation and protection against contact has to be the basis of a positive policy of rehabilitation.

Three: Elwin's fourth category is not eternal; it should not be allowed to petrify by arresting its growth. As the rate of urbanization increases in the country as a whole such secluded pockets are bound to come under the scope of the development plans of the country. If these remote cultural areas are not helped to meet this new challenge by preparing them for it, they may not be able to meet it. In certain areas, like Bihar, the development of natural resources, like iron and coal, has brought technical civilization right into the home of the tribal people causing many discomforts. Such a thing will happen elsewhere also—it must happen in the interests of a uniform development of the natural resources of the country—but the discomforts can be avoided by preparing the tribal people beforehand. Such preparation can be made neither by isolation nor by maintaining the *status quo*. More than tribal cultures we want the tribal people. Living people can recreate out of dying cultures; but there can be no culture at all if the people are dead.

Elwin's classification helps in presenting the present picture of the cultural crisis in tribal India. As a basis for a programme of rehabilitation, it is unacceptable. A more complete picture of the present-day conditions is given by Dube's fivefold classification, an extension of Elwin's analysis. He mentions 'common villages' where tribes retaining their organization, not unlike caste organization, live mixed with other castes, sects and religious groups.

From the point of view of a rehabilitation plan, a classification of the tribal cultures of India has to be based on the basic idea of 'distance' from rural-urban groups, for the goal that is envisaged for tribal communities is development into efficient rural or urban groups, as the circumstances may demand. Thus viewed, the tribal cultures fall into three groups, as follows:

Firstly, those who are culturally most distant from rural-urban groups; that is more or less out of contact;

Secondly, those who are under the influence of the culture of rural-urban groups and have developed discomforts and problems consequently; and

Thirdly, those who, though in contact with rural-urban groups, have not suffered therefrom, or have turned the corner and do not suffer any more, though they may have in the past, because they have now got acculturated into rural or urban culture.

The goal is to take ahead all these three types of tribal communities and establish, under planned conditions, healthy and creative contacts between them and the rural-urban groups.

A similar classification but worded differently has been already suggested by Majumdar. He mentions two types of tribal cultures, viz., assimilated and adaptive. The latter type of transitional culture is sub-divided into commensalic, symbiotic and acculturative types. Commensalism stands for common economic pursuits with neighbours; symbiosis indicates interdependence; and acculturation indicates a one way traffic of culture traits. In this classification, no mention is made of tribes listed in the first category of the previous classification, because there is hardly any tribal 'pocket' in India today which may be said to have had no contacts, direct or indirect, with non-tribal ways of living. But when the purpose is to indicate problems, with a view to drawing up a plan for rehabilitation, we may agree to posit this culturally 'remote' category, as involving the bad effects of comparative isolation.

Speaking from the point of view of their culture (modes of thought and action), the problems of the first category are those of a crisis in culture caused by arrest in growth; of the second category, those of a crisis in culture caused by one-sided and haphazard acculturation leading to cultural bondage; and those of the third category, those of a crisis in culture due to either sudden changes forced by a shift in the economic base, or, lack of adjustment with the changed socio-economic milieu.

The Indian Conference of Social Work (1952) appointed a Tribal Welfare Committee who have suggested the following classification:

(*i*) Tribal communities; (*ii*) semi-tribal communities; (*iii*) Acculturated tribal communities; and (*iv*) totally assimilated tribes.

Our category *one* is the same as the first type in this classification. The second and third types herein indicate different stages of contact, whereas in our classification the corresponding categories indicate the nature and outcome of contact.

Economic Grading. Overlying the cultural problems of tribal India are the economic problems. Economic disorganization and disintegration have taken hold over all tribal communities and have assumed serious proportions in a large number of cases. Taking these problems into consideration, as we must before a successful rehabilitation plan can be drawn up, it is found that their nature varies from tribe to tribe according to the variety of economic organization. It is legitimate, even essential, therefore, to attempt a classification of the Indian tribes on the basis of their economic organization (in the light of whatever data we have).

The classical classification of Adam Smith, or the more recent classifications of Thurnwald and Herskovits do not help much because the purpose herein, in attempting a classification, is mainly to indicate the nature of economic difficulties experienced by the tribal communities.

A good portion of Indian tribes are dependent upon forests —most of the tribes in India inhabit forested regions—particularly those of them who have the food-gathering type of economy. The Kadar (Cochin), the Malapantaram (Travancore), the Paliyan (Madura) and the Paniyan (Wynad) are some examples of this type. Cultivation of crops is very rare, and if practised at all, it is shifting cultivation.

Secondly, there are tribes in India who have an economy midway between the food-gathering and the primitive agricultural types. The Kamar, the Baiga and the Reddi of Bison Hills belong to this type. Any forest policies affect these two categories of tribes vitally.

Thirdly, there is the bulk of tribal population in India depending upon some form of agriculture with forest produce as a secondary support in such cases where forests are within reach. The tribes of North Eastern India belong mostly to this category, and so do many Middle Indian tribes. Consequently, land alienation is at the top of the economic ills of tribal India.

Finally, a new economic category of tribesmen has come into existence following the growth of industry in India. In certain parts of the country, mainly in Bihar, Bengal and Assam, there has been a two-sided force driving the tribesmen away from their traditional occupations. On the one hand there has been an outward 'push' following economic hardships due to land alienation and indebtedness, and on the other hand there has been a 'pull' from outside, the demand for labour from industries and forests and from tea plantations in Assam. That there are Bihar Santhal working in Assam tea-gardens is an indication of the degree of displacement that has taken place. The result has been the establishment of a 'tribal-urban continuum', a contact which has completely baffled the tribesmen. The shock-absorbent middle class, the rural groups, have not been present in this contact. Though tribesmen in these areas earn more than they did previously, yet they are not better off. Besides, money lenders and contractors are a menace for the tribesmen of this category; particularly harmful is the pernicious system of contract labour. These tribesmen pick up such evil practices as inordinate drinking, gambling and prostitution from the factory areas, as also diseases, and half-baked political ideas and shibboleths which contribute a fanatical force to such political movements as the 'Jharkhand' movement of Chota Nagpur. This economic category requires immediate attention and looking after as it is potentially the most dangerous. The Santhal, the Ho, the Bhuiya, the Munda belong to this category. The Ho are reported to represent nearly 10 per cent of the total number of industrial workers at Jamshedpur.

Present Conditions and Problems

The whole of tribal India is at the present moment going through the critical stage of transition. That the reaction of each tribe or group of tribes has not been the same is borne out by the fact that there has been no uniformity in the population trends of various tribes. There are the Bhil, the Gond, and the others who conform to the national trend of rapid increase in numbers. There are also the Korwa and the Toda who have been dying out. Although it is dangerous to express opinions, it seems that the role of a psychological state of disenchantment with life, conveyed in Gilbert Murray's phrase, *the loss of nerve,* has been rather overemphasized as the main contributory factor responsible for the decline in numbers. New diseases and malnutrition and the consequent low level of health are the more significant causes of decline wherever it has taken place.

As already pointed out, contact as also isolation have through, one might say, convergent evolution given rise to a similar set of needs, and problems. These are of two types: there are the problems which the tribal folk share with the entire rural population of the country; and there are also problems which are unique to the tribal folk. The former are socio-economic problems and have arisen out of the impact of new revenue policies and land tenure systems, restrictive forest policies, the application of all-India civil and penal codes. Not only that; there has been contact with non-tribal people which has in most cases, due to the unscrupulous nature of the latter, led to indebtedness, land alienation and even serfdom (like that of the Kolta of Jaunsar Bawar who have been agrestic serfs). Forced labour without payment of wages (*begar*) has been extorted by all kinds of overlords, including petty government officials.

Those tribes who have not lived in contact with non-tribal folk have created economic problems for themselves. Shifting cultivation is not only inefficient and uneconomic but also a blind alley. Constant soil exhaustion, speeded up by erosion and desiccation, ultimately confronts a people with starvation, or the inevitability of migration, or with the need of abandoning traditional modes of economic activity. Starvation is the more likely result in the absence of external aid.

These economic problems press hard and have visible and traceable symptoms. Whereas it is essential to give immediate attention to these, it will have to be realized that, whereas curative measures may produce results in the rural villages, they may not do so in tribal villages. In the tribal villages people do not feel the pinch of those economic hardships which they share with rural villages separately from those other deeper 'pricks' and hardships which are peculiar to them alone. These are problems of inter-cultural adjustment and the consequent need of intra-cultural readjustment. Without paying attention to these more fundamental problems no scheme for tribal rehabilitation will be successful. Of course, adjustments have been worked out automatically in the past by cultures in contact, but only after much avoidable human suffering.

The more important of these cultural problems may be summed up as under:

Contacts with a people who came in as rulers and were economically and militarily by far the stronger led to a rigid stratification into the superior alien and inferior native in the minds of these natives themselves, in the minds of the tribal people that is. The alien and his entire way of life (culture) got invested with an immense prestige value, which feeling got further strengthened by the ethnocentric ways of these aliens, whether they were Hindus or non-Indians. These aliens engaged in attempts at civilizing these savage (so-called) people; the Christian missionaries even tried to convert them to Christianity and succeeded in doing so in numerous cases. There were also to be witnessed attempts by the tribal folk to enter into the Hindu caste hierarchy whatever the disadvantages, because being a Hindu meant being something superior. The sum total effect of coercion, conversion and the willing adoption of new ways meant the giving up of traditional ways of life. This everybody has not been ready to do, leading to a social-cultural schism in tribal society. Further, those who changed over, willingly or through coercion, to new ways were faced with problems to some of which they could find solutions, and some others which they could either not perceive and comprehend, or perceiving could not solve.

Thus one of the first consequences of contact was bilingualism. The tribal folk often went so far in their enthusiasm that they unravelled this knot by cutting it; they neglected, and in course of time forgot their own language but acquired proficiency in the speech of the neighbouring non-tribal folk. This led to cultural disintegration with all its strains, but unperceived and uncomprehended. The symbols which one language uses may not be used by another; and even if it does so, the value and meaning-contents might well differ. Consequently, cultural values and norms, which are communicable only through traditional linguistic symbols, die out, leaving a vacuum in the life of the people involved in the absence of full assimilation of alien values, which is seldom possible in the context of a new time-space and natural-social environmental context. The role of language has generally been minimized by those studying the problem of tribal India.

The inability to speak each others' tongue could be overcome, but no contact could be possible so long as the aliens dressed themselves feet to neck and accused the natives of disgusting nudity. The attitude of civilized man to nudity, both his manner of rationalizing it as also his condemnation of it, reveals only an adolescent mentality. So, the tribal people were made to feel ashamed of themselves and compelled to dress themselves. They did so but could not afford many changes. The consequences were that on becoming dirty the clothes began to stink and caused numerous types of skin diseases. Lice in dirty clothes caused typhus epidemics. In the rainy season clothes became wet and remained so on the body causing fevers, catarrh and pneumonia. It is not implied that they should have never been taught to dress, particularly those tribal folk who live in cold regions. But such new habits must be cultivated with the associated education in hygiene and supply of soap and extra clothing. And there is no reason why only a minimum of clothing should not be adopted. Exposure to sunshine and fresh air is conducive to health, besides, the use of fewer clothes means less of an economic burden. Rather than have a turban, a shirt and a loin-cloth, one may have three changes of loin-cloth and a wrapper, and be saved from expenses, dirt and disease.

Contact with non-tribal folk also resulted in changes in social organization. Simple, socially significant and widely understood ceremonies, like that of marriage, have given place to Sanskrit rituals. Child marriage has been introduced along with a new moral code which does not fit in the older social structure, creating maladjusted personalities. Vital institutions like the dormitory have entered their decline bringing about tension and sadness in tribal life. The dormitory combined education suited to local needs with play, dance, music and colourful ceremonies and turned out happy responsible adults. The homes were saved from tensions between proximate generations which now arise through the imparting of instruction at home. Social and communal virtues cannot now be fostered so well and so early in a person's life as they used to be.

Religion and magic do not administer to man's extra-physical needs only, whether the same are recognized or not. These are useful tools of adjustment, and unless replaced it is disastrous to root them out. And the religion and magic of a community is the outcome of experience in a local setting. What the cruder animism does for a primitive tribe, philosophical Hinduism or humane Christianity cannot do, because the former represents the local attempt at solving problems of a local character while the latter have been evolved in different settings and in response to different needs. Thus, primitive magic is intimately interwoven with disease and its cure just as religion is interwoven with social norms and their maintenance. When, by converting them or by ridiculing their religious faith, the tribal folk come to distrust their religion, the religious sanction behind cultural norms vanishes bringing about a chaos of values and counter-values and the consequent breaking down of the social structure. Likewise, contact with outsiders has brought in new diseases which local knowledge cannot cure and local magic cannot cope with on the psychological front. Thus, belief in what exists is undermined; and the substitutes are either not available, or if available, do not fit into the traditional pattern of 'artifacts', 'socifacts', and 'mentifacts'. Such is the nature of the underlying cultural problems of tribal people. Theirs are problems of cultural crisis as also economic under-development and exploitation. Often they, failing to understand the reasons behind these problems, ascribe them, in an un-understanding attitude, solely to non-tribal folk and rise up against them in political movements thus creating more problems than there already are for the administrator to face and solve.

It may also be pointed out that this long-drawn process of cultural breakdown was ushered in when the British brought these tribal folk under political subjugation, illegalizing their own political institutions and systems of government and law. Not that anyone would plead for a reversal to the practices of old; it is only pleaded that social change ought to be so engineered by those responsible for it as to save the people involved from the emotional and mental strains and frustrations which accompany cultural breakdown. Cultural breakdown makes a people either spineless or anarchic. Both are anti-social conditions which do harm to that wider social organization of which the disorganizing group is a sub-culture.

To limit the problems of tribal India to the types just enumerated would amount to an understatement. These, of course, are the problems of which the tribal folk are somehow conscious. There are other significant aspects of their life which are problems in the sense of being obstacles to their progress. These aspects of their life are a vital part of their cultural pattern and are not, therefore, felt as problems nor either realized to be obstacles to progress. Some examples may be cited.

Drink. Country-brewed liquors like rice-beer or *mahua*-liquor are extensively used at social and religious functions, and even as a part of daily diet, by the tribal people of India. Inordinate drinking leads to drunkenness and the associated evils, like brawls and even, on occasions, homicide. Sudden and forcible prohibition has had immensely good results on the health and social life of tribesmen like the Bhil. However, the fact that such liquors and beers are a useful item of diet, if moderately consumed, must not be lost sight of.

Prohibition without providing substitutes is a policy bound to prove harmful.

Marital Relations etc. Laxity of pre- and post-marital sex relations also has to be controlled. Legitimacy of children, a pre-requisite of progress, is not so vital a factor in primitive social life. Stability of marital life is often endangered by the frequency of divorce. Unhealthy practices like the demand for exorbitant bride prices leads to further unhealthy social practices like marriage by capture. The stranglehold of unhelpful myths which encourage magical cures and uneconomic pursuits like shifting cultivation also has to be faced and overcome. There can be no better way of doing so than by educating the tribesmen through the demonstration of the utility of alternative social mechanisms, artifacts and myths.

ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL INDIA

British Policy. The Britishers came into contact with the tribes during their efforts for the consolidation of the Indian Empire. Quite early they had to control the turbulent Hill Paharia of the Rajmahal Hills (Bengal) who had risen in revolt against the Hindu *zamindars*. They were at first subdued in a clash of arms, but soon after a policy of pacification was decided upon. Bribes were paid, under the name of pensions and totalling Rs. 15,000 per year, to tribal leaders. Ex-servicemen were encouraged to settle down around the Paharia habitation. In 1782, on the suggestion of Augustus Cleveland, administrator of the area, the Rajmahal Hills were withdrawn from normal administration. Local courts, consisting of local leaders, were given civil and penal jurisdiction over the Hills tract. Contacts with *zamindars* were severed and the Paharia held rent-free land direct from the Government. Thus were laid the foundations of the British policy towards the tribes which in the course of the next 125 years developed into a policy of *laissez faire* and of segregation of tribal areas combined with a harsh application of the laws of the land, entirely unsuited to the tribes. British policy was in short a hotch-potch of segregation, often unnecessary and harmful, and lack of discrimination or unfair discrimination in administration, both of which hit the tribes hard. The Criminal Tribes Act which enhanced ordinary punishments provided in the Penal Code was one such example of unfair discrimination against the tribes. It has fortunately been repealed by the national government.

Resuming our account of Paharia administration, under the guidance of Cleveland and his successors a Hill Assembly was forced not only to administer justice but also frame rules for its own procedure for conducting the affairs of the tribe. In 1796 these rules were made Regulation I of that year by the Government. But the experiment did not succeed over time. Inefficiency and corruption crept in, and in 1827 Regulation I of 1796 was abolished. Instead a new Regulation I of 1827 brought the Paharia and other adjacent tribes under the partial jurisdiction of ordinary courts, providing special exemptions from the application of the law in their favour.

Such remained the pattern for the administration of the tribes till 1855 when the Santhal rose in revolt. A non-regulation areas Regulation was re-introduced giving civil and penal powers to executive officers in the affected areas which thus came under a special administration. The British Parliament sanctioned the establishment of specially administered non-regulation areas by the Indian Councils Act of 1861. In 1870, the Parliament gave the Governor-General in Council the power to legalize the regulations under which various areas were being specially administered. The Scheduled Districts Act, XIV of 1874, passed by the Indian Legislature, gave special powers to local government. A local government could now specify the enactments that were to be locally in force in a specially administered area; and the modifications which were to be made in enactments, elsewhere in force, before their application to a specially administered area.

With various local modifications, the pattern of British policy remained as outlined in the foregoing paragraphs till Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1919. Under section 52-A (2) of this Act, special modified administration of various areas, regarded as backward, could be ordered by the Governor-General in Council, thus wholly exempting the people of the said areas from administration under provisions of the Act. It was felt by the Government of India that whereas in certain backward areas modification of national laws was enough, in certain other such areas complete special administration alone would meet the demands of the situation. Thus came into existence 'partially' and 'wholly' excluded areas. Further, some excluded areas were not given the right of representation in the Indian and provincial legislatures, others could have members nominated on their behalf; and still others could elect some of their representatives, while the rest would have to be nominated to represent them.

The application of the Government of India Act, 1935, brought about some minor changes. The Council of Ministers could not advise a governor on how to administer a wholly excluded area. But the application of the provisions of the Act by popular ministries with regard to partially excluded areas resulted in the appointment of tribal inquiry commitees in several states like Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, Madras and so on. Till then British policy had been a negative one. Its sole aim was to let the tribes live (and that meant also, be exploited) so long as they did not cause trouble. The appointment of inquiry committees was the first step towards a positive policy of reconstruction. Problems can be solved only after they are assessed, and here was assessment being ordered to shape future policies. But the War brought with it the resignation of popular ministries and a national emergency, preventing any new policy for tribal rehabilitation from taking shape.

Post-1947 Policy: Constitutional Provisions. Following the attainment of independence, free India framed an elaborate democratic constitution which applies to each and every Indian irrespective of who he is and where he lives. In this constitution there are so many provisions which apply to all Indians, but which acquire a special significance in the case of tribal and other backward classes in view of the hardships and disabilities from which these people suffer at present. Besides, there are many clauses in the Constitution which apply only to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Preamble of the Constitution of India guarantees to all citizens of India social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; and equality of status and opportunity, and seeks to promote fraternity among Indians in order to assure the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

Part III of the Constitution deals with Fundamental Rights and assures to all citizens of India that no discrimination will be permitted on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Article 15). This acquires significance because the tribal people have been in the past discriminated against on grounds of religion, race and place of birth. The depressed castes have been depressed because of their caste affiliation.

Article 16 assures equality of opportunity to all in matters of employment with government, and Article 17 abolishes untouchability. Article 19 grants freedom of speech, expression, residence, acquisition and disposal of property, practice of a profession, free association and free movement. Article 23 illegalizes traffic in human beings and forced labour, evils which non-tribal people have encouraged and imposed upon the tribal folk. Article 25 gives the right of freedom of religion. Article 29 protects the cultural and educational rights of minorities. This provision also acquires special significance when applied to the tribal communities who constitute one of the important cultural minorities of the country.

Part IV, Article 46, lays down that 'the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation'.

Part VI, Article 164, provides for a ministry of tribal welfare in each of the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Part X, Article 244, provides for the inclusion of a Fifth Schedule in the Constitution incorporating provisions for the administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribes of Part A and Part B States, other than those in the State of Assam. For Assam tribes the Sixth Schedule carries administrative provisions.

Part XII, Article 275, provides for the grant of special funds by the Union Government to State Governments for promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and for providing them with a better administration.

Part XV, Article 325, lays down that nobody will be denied the right to vote on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex. Part XVI, Articles 330 and 332, reserve seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and State Legislatures respectively. Such reservation or special representation will cease ten years after the Constitution came in force. Article 335 assures that scheduled castes and tribes will be given special attention while filling in posts in the services. Article 338 provides for a special officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President. This has been done and the present incumbent of the post, Shri L. M. Shrikant, a well-known social worker, has been working with considerable zeal and has submitted a series of useful reports to the Government, outlining not only the problems of the tribes and castes in general, but also the actual working of the Constitution. He has been designated as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Article 339 requires the President to call for a report on the special administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes ten years after the commencement of the Constitution; he may do so before the expiry of the ten-year period also. Besides, the Union executive has the power to give instructions to the States on the administration of the Scheduled Tribes.

Article 340 empowers the President to appoint a commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes in general and suggest ameliorative measures. A Backward Classes Commission came into being in the winter of 1952-53 under the chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar, M.P. and well-known social worker. The Commission has travelled all over the country for two years ascertaining the viewpoint of various bodies of public opinion and has submitted its report to the Government.

Article 342 empowers the President, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, to specify the

Scheduled Tribes of that State from among its tribal communities.

The Fifth Schedule, attached to Article 244(1) (see above) requires a Governor (or Rajpramukh) to submit reports to the President, whenever asked, on the administration of the Scheduled Areas, and receive from the President instructions on the administration of these areas.

The Schedule also provides for the appointment of Tribes Advisory Councils of not more than 20 members of whom three-fourths, or as nearly as may be, shall be representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State.

The Governor (or Rajpramukh) can modify general laws, or restrict their application, when applied to the Tribes. He may make regulations for the peace and good government of a Scheduled Area in his State. These may refer to the prevention of land alienation, land allotment and control of the activities of businessmen and moneylenders. No regulation shall be made unless the Tribes Advisory Council is consulted. Obviously, their advice is not, constitutionally, binding.

The Sixth Schedule, attached to Articles 244(2) and 275(1) (see above) provides for the administration of tribal areas in Assam through the creation of the autonomous districts and autonomous regions with District Councils and Regional Councils, respectively. These Councils shall make laws about land allotment; use of forests and canal waters; regulation of shifting cultivation; establishment of village or town committees and their powers; appointment or succession of chiefs; inheritance of property; marriage and other social customs. The Councils will administer justice under the all-India Civil and Penal Codes, modified by local custom. They can establish primary schools and raise funds by assessing and collecting land revenue and imposing taxes. They may issue licences on leases for the purpose of prospecting for, or extracting minerals. The District Councils can regulate money-lending and other trading activities by non-tribals. They can prohibit or restrict the application of Parliamentary or State laws to their areas.

The Constitution requires the Councils to maintain a regular account of revenue and expenditure. The Governor may at any time appoint a Commission to report on the working of these Councils. He is also empowered to annul or suspend the Councils whenever he is satisfied that their activities are likely to endanger the safety of India.

It is obvious from the provisions of the Sixth Schedule that a considerable degree of social, cultural and political autonomy is envisaged for the tribal areas of Assam.

There is enough in the spirit and the letter of the Constitution to usher in a new, hopeful era in the history of tribal India, but much depends on how the Constitution is worked. Thus, the ambitious Sixth Schedule has not worked. The Naga have not availed themselves of the constitutional measures. Autonomous District Councils came into being in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills but objective observers report that these have been captured by politicians and not all that could be done is being done.

THE PROSPECT

As has been said above, the Constitutional safeguards provide a good and useful broad framework; but the details have to be filled in. These details cannot be based on any omnibus theory. Each region has its own typical problems arising from very different causes and therefore details of a reconstruction policy must vary.

Under British rule the policy of maintaining the *status quo* was followed. Hutton and others condemned too much of isolation as also complete assimilation. Elwin wanted a revivalist policy to be adopted. His scheme of "National Parks" pleaded for our complete non-interference with, and withdrawal from, tribal areas. In reaction to these conservative or revivalist views, Ghurye, a senior sociologist from Bombay, made a case for complete assimilation. He said that it was misleading to call the tribes aborigines or autochthones; they were actually only backward Hindus and the solution of all their problems, cultural as well as economic and social, lay in complete assimilation into the Hindu society.

It may be pointed out here that Ghurye perhaps overstated his case. The tribal folk have a distinct culture and complete assimilation may not be possible without doing injury to them. Tribal cultures have many happy and useful facets and the same must be preserved. The best policy would be one of controlled (planned) and limited assimilation. By limited assimilation is implied the need and desirability of preserving useful institutions, customs and practices, though these be tribal in origin and character. Trans-culturative borrowing should be encouraged; e.g., rather than foist child marriage upon the tribal folk, Hindus should adopt the tribal practice of marrying late; it would not only improve average health but also put a check on the alarming rise in India's population.

The 'indirect rule' policy envisaged for Assam may have to be explained to them to bring about a *rapprochement* between the Naga and other Assamese. This can be done through proper education, and propaganda.

Whereas attempts to mechanize the villages are made on the one hand, there should be simultaneous attempts made to 'ruralize' tribal villages, so that, ultimately, the Indian people may be divisible into two broad categories of 'rural' and 'urban'. The present policies of the governments, State and Central, have been guided mostly by social workers. It is high time that the social scientists' role in public administration is recognized and an increasing association between social science and a policy of reconstruction is encouraged.

A plan for rehabilitation must be a wholesale one, tackling all cultural, social, economic and political problems. Priorities must be fixed in terms of quick results. The first stage of planning a better future for the tribes has to be the enlisting of their support for planning. The same can be acquired by demonstrating tp them that an attempt is being made to change their life for the better and not at destroying whatever they have. Therefore, the first focal points on which to concentrate have to be health and hygiene and economic life. Free medical treatment and supply of soap, spectacles, artificial teeth and amenities of this type are bound to impress the untutored mind of the tribal folk. Simultaneously, multi-purpose sale and purchase cooperatives must provide them with all their requirements, which they should demand and which they require but, not knowing so, do not demand. Manures, fresh and superior seeds, better implements for cultivation and digging wells, and training in better techniques are some of such unfelt but vital needs. But no plans for change can succeed without proper education. Instruction should be imparted in such knowledge as helps a person to be a better member of his own society. Further, no attempt should be made to introduce the classroom system; as much of the traditional system of imparting instruction should be retained as possible. It is cruel to make simple Munda and Oraon boys sit on wooden stools, face a blackboard and read, say, world geography; and, unfortunately, this is what is being done at present.

After this initial stage of planning by the State has been initiated, social reform, economic development and even schemes for intellectual advance may be gradually undertaken. It is a human problem of immense magnitude for the solution of which administrators, social workers and social scientists must pool their resources together.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Elwin, V., *The Aboriginals* (O. U. P. pamphlet).
Ghurye, G. S., *The Aborigines—So-called—and Their Future.*
Majumdar, D. N., *The Matrix of Indian Culture,* Chapter VI.
The Affairs of a Tribe (Lucknow, Universal, 1951), Chapters XI and XII.

SELECTED ETHNOGRAPHIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andaman Islands:

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., *The Andaman Islanders* (Illinois, 1948).

Assam:

Gurdon, P.R.T., *The Khasis* (London, 1914).
Hutton, J.H., *The Angami Nagas* (London, 1921).
Mills, J.P., *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926).
————*The Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922).
————*The Rengma Nagas* (London, 1937).
Playfair, A., *The Garo* (London, 1926).
Shakespeare, J., *The Lushei Kuki Clans* (London, 1912).
Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von, *The Naked Nagas* (the Konyak), (Calcutta, 1946).

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa:

Chatterji, A., and Das, T.C., *The Hos of Seraikella* (Calcutta, 1927).
Culshaw, W.J., *Tribal Heritage* (the Santhal) (London, 1949).
Elwin, V., *The Religion of an Indian Tribe* (the Saora) (London, 1954).
Majumdar, D.N., *The Affairs of a Tribe* (the Ho of Singhbhum) (Lucknow, 1950).
Roy, S.C., *The Birhor* (Ranchi, 1925).
————*The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa* (Ranchi, 1935).
————*The Mundas and Their Country* (Ranchi, 1912).
————*The Oraons of Chota Nagpur* (Ranchi, 1915).
Roy, S.C. and Roy, R.C., *The Kharias* (Ranchi, 1937).

Bombay:

Naik, T.B., *The Bhil* (Unpublished Thesis).

Save, K.J., *The Warlis* (Bombay, 1945).

COCHIN:

Ehrenfels, U.R., *Kadar of Cochin* (Madras, 1952).

HYDERABAD:

Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von, *The Chenchu* (London, 1943).
Fürer-Haimendorf, C. and Elizabeth von, *The Reddis of the Bison Hills* (London, 1945).

MADHYA PRADESH:

Dube, S.C., *The Kamar* (Lucknow, 1951).
Elwin, V., *The Baiga* (London, 1939).
——— *The Muria and their Ghotul* (London, 1947).
Grigson, W.V., *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (Oxford, 1938).
Hivale, S., *The Pardhans* (Oxford, 1946).
Singh, Indrajit, *The Gondwana and the Gonds* (Lucknow, 1944).

MADRAS:

Aiyappan, A., *The Nayadis* (Madras).
Rivers, W.H.R., *The Todas* (London, 1906)

UTTAR PRADESH:

Majumdar, D.N., *The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes* (Lucknow, 1944).
Pant, S.D., *Social Economy of the Himalayas* (Lucknow).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

ON

Chapters I, II and III

Definition of anthropology over the decades, pp. 1-2

(*a*) The German philosopher, J. G. Herder, published the four volumes of his *Ideas for the Philosophy of Human History* between 1784 and 1791, and in these he expounded his views on the emergence of the world and man and on the nature of man's historical activity. Herder believed that the history of a particular people was the outcome of their peculiar nature. He believed, and was perhaps the first thinker to do so, that the psychical nature of various peoples differed and that these peculiarities of nature were inherited and underlay the varying historical achievements of various peoples. R. G. Collingwood says in his *Idea of History* (1946) that if anthropology is the science dealing with the study of the cultures of various peoples as expressions of their psychological and physical peculiarities, then Herder may well be called the father of anthropology. It is good to know that although modern anthropology does recognize racial differences as a biological fact, it does not read an unwarranted meaning of mental superiority or inferiority into the cultural achievements of a race. See *Statement on Race* by Ashley Montagu (New York: 1951).

Anthropology, evolutionary and historical, pp. 2 and 7

Anthropology, taken together with all its branches, was undoubtedly influenced by the evolutionary theories of Darwin and Spencer, but it is not certain whether the earlier work of the earliest of cultural and social anthropologists, Tylor and Morgan respectively, was done under this influence. Their earlier work came too soon after 1859, the year in which *The Origin of Species* was published, for this to be likely. These pioneers seem to show a greater indebtedness to Comtean Positivism, and to Comte's belief in the inevitability of human development and progress. Comte, Darwin and Spencer became the combined influences and all earlier anthropologists believed in the historicity of the evolution of human social institutions. The implication of history for these early anthropologists was development and progress through evolution, and they sought to fit in their data into the framework of their preconceived notions.

The growth of a robust empiricism was bound to annihilate such *a priori*, a-historical though seemingly logical conclusions as the universality of unilinear evolution, and that is what happened. Today social anthropology has ceased to be an evolutionary study, and is an historical study in the sense that (*a*) it regards the present as the outcome of the past, and (*b*) its method is one of descriptive integration like that of historiography. Today anthropologists distinguish between historical and evolutionary approaches (see p. 2), but the earlier anthropologists equated the two, under the impact of the climate of scientific opinion of the time, and regarded anthropology as an evolutionary study.

How primitive society came to be studied, pp. 6-7

During the so-called Age of Enlightenment, of eighteenth century Europe, the intense desire to secularize was not confined only to contemporary times but was also extended to the past. The typical attitude of the Enlightenment historians was one of condemnation of those past ages, like the Middle Ages, which were written off as barbaric, superstitious and religion-ridden. Rousseau, although brought up in the Enlightenment environment, heralded the reaction through a re-interpretation of the ideas of the Enlightenment, the reaction which later blossomed into the Romantic Movement. Among the consequences were (*a*) the view that non-European ways of life had their own value and significance, and (*b*) the nostalgic view of the past as one's own past. This romantic attitude towards the past arose out of the romanticists' belief in the continuity of history. Such ideas must have served to contribute strength to other incentives for the study of primitive societies which had, in the eyes of the romantics, acquired an intrinsic value.

Were all evolutionists ignorant of cultural borrowing? p. 21

Both Tylor and Morgan recognized the role of cultural borrowing in cultural growth. Whereas Morgan only pointed out that cultures in isolation may grow differently from other cultures, Tylor listed independent evolution, inheritance from common ancestors and cultural transmission as the three main ways in which cultures grow. When we complain that the evolutionists revealed a strange ignorance of the role of cultural borrowing (p. 21), we are making a general statement with reference to the evolutionary school as a whole; and Tylor and Morgan both believed in evolution as the central fact of human history. Even though Tylor and Morgan recognized the role of cultural borrowing, the way they sought to show unilinear development in human institutions, like the family, the clan, government, property, and religion, leaves no doubt in one's mind that they were *strangely* indifferent to the consequences of the concept of cultural borrowing, for its operation rules out undisturbed unilinear growth. It is indeed strange how Tylor, who was certain about and explicit on the operation of cultural borrowing as an historical process, and not negative and undecided like Morgan, should have fallen prey to the predominant idea of his time, namely that institutions evolve unilinearly.

Beginnings of Diffusionism, p. 22

Just as evolutionary anthropology can be traced back among others to Bastian, of the late nineteenth century, so can diffusionism be traced back to his contemporary, Ratzel, who thought of unilimited, by space, cultural borrowing as an historical process. Ratzel and his followers stressed historical diffusion and the role of environment as the leading features of human history, and have come to be designated as anthropogeographers. They represented the reaction to Bastian's emphasis on independent internal development in culture.

British Diffusionists, pp. 25-6

In writing about British diffusionists we have not mentioned W. H. R. Rivers, one of the most influential of anthropologists, because he was many things more than a diffusionist. And, besides, his diffusionism had nothing in common with that of the Egyptologists. Further, Rivers will be better known as an initiator of social organization studies in anthropology. His many attempts to bring anthropology and psychology closer are also noteworthy.

The Egyptologists, p. 26

It may be of interest to note that long before Elliot Smith and Perry reduced human culture and civilization to one centre of origin, Egypt, and regarded the favourable Egyptian environment as a main cause for the creativeness of the ancient Egyptians, (i) Herder had, between 1784-91, posited a similar role for Europe and for similar reasons; and (ii) Tylor had, in his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (1865), warned that cultural diffusion should never be stretched so far as to postulate one common cultural parent-stock for all the cultures of the world.

The consequences of Comtean Positivism, p. 37

It may be contested by many whether Comtean Positivism has had really the kind of influence on anthropology, against the growth of its applied aspect, as has been indicated (p. 37) earlier. It may be maintained that Comte conceived of sociology as an applied and a welfare science. In this connection it is well to recall that Comte regarded society as capable of being greatly improved if scientifically guided attempts were made in that direction. However, interpretations may differ as regards what in Comte's writings has had the greater influence.

INDEXES

SUBJECT INDEX

Abduction, 217
Aboriginal types, 227, 229, 263
Acculturation, 27, 226
Adultery, 145, 207, 209, 214, 217
Aesthetic activity, 169, 176, 179, 180
Agamy, 246
Age, associations based on, 128, 129
Age class, 129
Agnates, 101
Agriculture, 22, 189, 196, 196-7; shifting, 197-9
Agrofacts, 42
Ambivalence, 102, 104, 164
Amitate, 106
Anader, 74, 90
Ancestor worship, 155, 239
Andi, 73
Anima, 153
Animatism, 155, 156
Animism, 153, 164-5
Anthropology, applied, 3, 35-47; cultural, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13-31; economic, 4; physical, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12; social, 2, 4, 31-3; and modern life, 5-6, 42, 45-6; as culture history, 37; as history, 11; as humanity, 11, 43; as instrumental science, 43; as natural science, 10; as reformative science, 37; as therapeutic science, 41; definitions and scope, 1-6; relations between various branches of, 3-5; relations of, with other sciences, 9-12
Anthropologists, as trouble shooters, 40; at work, 40-2
Anthropomorphism, 166
Anuloma, 85, 223
Aren, 156
Art, 169-87; Christian, 179; definition of, 169-70; evolutionary theories of, 173-4; genius in, 172-3; geometric, 173, 174; graphic, 180; Hindu, 186; in contemporary primitive society, 178-81; in prehistoric Europe, 174-7; in protohistoric India, 177-8; in tribal India, 181-6; Mohammedan, 179; products, 169, 175, 176; realistic, 173-4, 177; relation of, to individual and society, 170-2; symbolic, 174
Artifacts, 2, 14, 42, 176, 272, 274
Arya, 222, 223
Aryan, 226, 227, 232, 233, 257, 258, 259
Asramas, 95
Associations, 112; and dormitories. 127-40; compulsive character of memberships of, in Tribal India, 128; definition of, 127-8; evolutionary scheme of, given by Schurtz, 129; principles of integration underlying, 128ff; types of, 127ff; voluntary, 129, 130
Avoidance, 101-4
Avunculate, 106
Avuncupotestality, 106, 118

Backward Classes Commission, 278
Barbarism, 18, 20, 22
Barter, 190, 191, 202
Basket making, 196, 197, 198, 202
Begar, 269
Beliefs, in soul, 153, 154, 155; religious, 152, 241; sacred and profane, 153, 158
Bewar, 197
Bilinear groups, 100
Bilingualism in tribal India, 270-1
Blood groups among Indian tribes, 261
Body mutilations, 5
Bonga, 73, 156, 166, 167, 242
Bongaism, 166-7
Bride price, 72, 73, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96, 113, 274
Bridegroom price, 86
Buddhism, 226, 238
Bukumatula, 130

Cannibalism, 166
Carving, 175, 177, 180
Caste, 195, 221, 222-39; and social distance, 231-2; functional basis of, 229-31; incompetence, 224-6; nature and general features of, 222-4; origins, 226ff; race factors in, 226-7; recruitment into, from tribes, 228-9; uniqueness of, in India, 239; utility of, in India, 236-8

Casteism in South India, 224
Cattle breeders, 190
Cattle wealth, 117, 194
Cave art, 175
Chase, 195, 196
Chaturvarna, 222
Chelik, 132, 134, 136
Chiefs, 210, 211
Chieftainship, 216
Child bearing and rearing, 149-50
Child marriage, among Indian tribes, 79, 90, 272
Children, adoption of, 70, 94-5, 99, 138, 215; in hunters' community, 81, 94-5; in polyandrous community, 84-5, 94; of a mistress, 75
Christianity, 6, 36, 78, 117, 130, 136, 167, 272
Christians, 96, 226, 237, 238
Circumcision, 5
Civilization, 18, 20, 22
Clan, 20, 57, 58, 65, 71, 73, 101, 112-22, 246-51
Clan exogamy, 115, 116, 117, 120-1
Class, 221
Clay modelling, 180
Cognates, 101
Collateral kin, 101
Colonies and anthropology, 39-40, 45
Community, 127-8
Community studies, 9, 33
Constitution of India, 69, 276-80
Contra-acculturation, 27, 136-7
Couvade, 107-8, 118
Crime, study of, by anthropologists, 42
Cross-cousin marriage, 82-3
Cultivation, 190, 194, 267; shifting, 196, 197-9
Culture, anthropology as the study of, 1-2, 31, 32; attributes of, 16-19; bio-psychic basis of, 10, 11; borrowing, 21, 22; construct, 15; determinism, 16-17; aesthetic-formal view of, 14-15; growth, theories of, 19-27, 28; integration, theories of, 28-31; meaning of, 13-15; parallels, 19, 23; parallelism, 26, 27, 28; pattern, theory of, 29-30; social matrix of, 16-17; superorganic view of, 17; traits and complexes, 18, 19, 23
Culture, as abstraction, 15: 'as if' independent of individuals, 17-18; instrument, 10, 14; matrix of all life, 17; social heritage, 14; substantive reality, 14; superorganic and superpsychic, 11
Culture in relation to, civilization, 18; individual, 17-18
Culture-area, 24
Culture-area approach, 24-25
Culture-configuration approach, 29
Culture pluralism, 28, 44
Culture Relativism, 181
Culturological approach, 31, 32

Dahi, 198
Dance, 180, 181
Dance-drama, 180
Dandia, 72
Darwinism, 23
Dead, cults of, 166; wooden images of, 166
Depressed (exterior) classes and castes, 225, 243
Descent, 56, 66, 100-1, 114, 116, 122
Deuri, 73
Dhangarbasa, 130
Dharma, 95
Dhum-kuria, 130, 131, 132
Dhyanti, 92
Diffusion, 118, 146
Diffusionism, 22-3; American, 24-5; British, 25-7; discontinuous, 25
Diku-andi, 73, 74
Dionysian, 30
Disintegration, cultural-economic, 263, 264, 265, 267, 270, 271, 273
Distance, cultural, 265, 266; social, 231-2
Division of labour, 192, 203; sexual, 79, 192-3
Divorce, 67, 75, 92-3, 96, 144, 148
Domestication of animals, 20, 189
Dormitory, administration of, 129-30; age difference between members of, 132; attendance at, 129-30; bi- and mono-sexual, 130, 131; building, 131; decline of, 272; educative function of, 54, 92, 129, 139, 140; effect of culture contacts on, 136-7; in Gond society, 134-5; in India, 130-5; in Pakistan, 135-6; Life routine in, 131; lore, 132; origin of, 133-4; propaganda value of, 136; sexual infertility in, 133
Double descent groups, 100-1
Dravidians, 227, 233-4, 236
Dress, 271-2
Drink, 273
Dual organization, 58, 115, 251

Dudh-lautava, 82
Dutam, 73

East India Company, 6, 8
Economic activity, classification and definition of, 188, 189-91; nature of, in primitive society, 191-5; structure and function of, 191
Economic organization, 151, 188-203
Economies, agricultural, 203; contemporary primitive, 189; prehistoric, 189; production-consumption, 188; production-consumption-distribution, 188-9
Education, 42, 137-40, 151, 274, 281-2
Egalitarianism, 224
Empiricism, 37
Enculturation, 27
Engraving, 175, 177, 180
Endogamy, 83-4, 120, 223, 224, 227, 229, 238, 241, 242, 246
Ethnocentrism, 21, 178
Ethnology, 3, 4
Evidence, 208
Evolutionism, 19-22, 37, 62, 76, 115, 220
Excavations, archaeological, 156
Excluded areas, 276
Excommunication, 215, 216
Exile, 217
Exogamy, 80, 83, 110, 120, 121, 126, 164, 214, 215, 216, 229, 241, 246

Family, 48-70, 112, 116, 117, 118-9, 120
Family, among the Ho, 50-1; the Kharia, 48-9; the Khasi, 51-2; as association, 55-9; as bilateral group, 20, 57, 100, 113; as co-eval with human culture, 65; as culture transmitting agency, 54; as means of sexual gratification, 53; biological roots of, 52, 65-6; conjugal, 56; consanguineous, 55; distinctive features of, 59-61; educative role of, 54; evolutionary theories on the origins of, 62-5; extended, 55; Hindu, 55, 68-9; in China, 68; in the West, 67; joint, 56-7, 101, 239; matriarchal, 101; matri- patri-lineal, 59; matri- patri-local, 57; matri-patri- avuncu-potestal, 59; monogamous, 59; Muslim, 69-70; Nayar, 56; nuclear, immediate, primary, 55, 120; of orientation, or origin, 56; of procreation, 56; particularist, 101; patro- matronymic, 66; polyandrous, 56, 59; polygynous, 56, 59
Fashion, 172, 204
Father, 98, 99
Fatherhood, 116-7
Fertility rites, 134
Fetish, 162
Fetishism, 162
Filing of teeth, by the Kadar, 5
Fishing, 190, 196, 197, 202, 203
Fission-fusion, of clans, 115, 125
Folk-tales, 182, 184
French humanists, 10
Freudians, neo-, 163
Funerals, dry and green, 154

Gaharia, 90
Genitor, 117, 118
Genius of a culture, 29
German idealists, on man's life and nature, 9
Ghar-Jamain, 48
Gitiora, 130, 137, 250
Gonong, 73
Gotra, 58-9, 69, 85, 95, 114, 229, 243
Gotul, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137
Government, 210-11
Government of India Act, 1919, 275; 1935, 276
Graded utility, 135
Graphic arts, 180
Grihastashrama, 95
Growth, study of, by anthropologists, 41, 42, 46
Guna, 234

Handicrafts, 190, 199
Head hunting, 166, 217, 220
Hepu, 109
Herdsmen, 189, 194
Hereditary factors, 42
Hindus, 57, 58, 68-9, 75, 93, 94, 95, 166, 198, 224, 228, 229, 231, 241, 244, 274, 281
Hindu Code Bill, 69
Hindu influence, on tribes, 72, 73, 78, 79, 82, 86, 90, 93, 167-8, 264, 270
Hinduism, 165, 166, 167, 222, 234, 242, 243, 272

Hindu law, 69
Hindu society, 226, 237, 238, 240, 280
Holi, 88
Home art, 175
Homicide, 212, 214, 216, 217
Honey-collecting, 197
Horde, 116
Human anatomy, 2; evolution of, 2, 3; growth of, 2, 3
Human genetics, 2
Human institutions, origins of, 7
Human sacrifice, 160, 166
Hunters, 189, 190, 195, 196, 197, 202, 211

Ideas, role of, in human history, 5
Illi, 192
Iloichi and *Ikhuichi*, 130
Incest, 80-1, 102, 103, 133
Indebtedness, 269
Indian Civil Code, 212
Indianist Policy, 40
Individualism, 67, 68
Indo-Aryans, 84, 228
Indo-Europeans, 233
Industrialization, impact of, on Indian tribes, 200
Industrial pursuits, 130
Industrial Revolution, 6, 36
Industrial unrest, 46
Indus Valley Civilization, 178, 257
Infanticide, 77, 81
Inheritance laws, 69, 70, 194-5
Intention, 207, 214
I.P.C., 87, 212, 275
Islam, 238
Islamic law, 69, 97

Jangtopa, 154
Japanese, in America, collective attitudes of, 41
Jati, 95
Jew, 96
Jharkhand, 27, 268
Jonkerpa, 130
Jhum, 197
Jhuming, 196
Joking relationships, 104-5
Jurisprudence, 206
Justice, 207 ff
Juvenile delinquency, study of, by anthropologists, 46

Kanyadan, 95
Karma, 234, 238, 239
Khel, 120
Khula, 96
Kichuki, 130
Killi, 50, 73, 120, 121, 250
Kinship, 98-111; affinal, 98; consanguineous, 98; degree of, 99-100; descent and, 100-1; groups, 112, 116, 125-6; range, 100, 113, 126, 206, 207, 208
Kinship terms, 76, 108-10
Kinship usages, 101-8, 164
Koman, 197, 198
Kulturkreise Schule, 23-4

Labour, agricultural and industrial, 196; industrial, 199-200, 203
Labour-employer relations and anthropological research, 41
Lamana'i, 90
Lamsana, 90
Land alienation, 268, 269
Language, 118, 151; Aryan, 254; Austric, 254, 255, 256; Austro-Asiatic, 255, 261; Bengali, 255, 261; Brahui, 258; Chattisgarhi, 255; Dravidian, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258-9; Finno-Ugrian, 255; Gondi, 255; Hindi, 109, 138; Hindustani, 255; Indo-European, 254; Kolarian, 256; Mon-Khmer, 255, 256; Munda (Kolarian), 254, 255, 256; Oriya, 255, 261; Tibeto-Burman, 255; Tibeto-Chinese (Sino-Tibetan), 254, 255
Laws, customary, 215, 216
Laws, magical, of contagion and similarity, 159
Laws, tribal, definition, 204-5; civil and criminal, 205; nature of, 205-7; sanctions behind, 209-10; collective responsibility in, 207-8; evidence in, 208; intention in, 207; punishments in, 207, 208-9, 213; torts in, 206; among the Ho, 217-9; the Kamar 212-4; the Kharia, 215-6; the Rengma Naga, 216-7
Leadership, 211
Levirate, 83, 109
Life hereafter, belief in, among Indian tribes, 166
Lineage, 58, 113, 114
Lineage groups, 114
Lineal kin, 101
Lingo, 133
Linguistics, 4

Loss of nerve among Indian tribes, 9, 269
Lumbering, 195

Madagascar bellows, 25
Magic, 158 ff; contagious, 159, 160; homoeopathic, 159; imitative, mimetic, 160; sympathetic, 159; religion, science and, 160-2, 178, 229
Malnutrition, 46, 268
Man, physical and cultural emergence of, 2
Mana, 156, 161, 163, 166, 211, 220, 229, 232, 234, 239
Manaism, 154, 156
Manki, 218
Manners, 31
Marital relations, among Indian tribes, 91-2, 274
Marriage, 71-97; definition of, 75; extra-biological basis of, 78-80; forms of, 80-6; history of, 78-80; among Hindus, 94-6; among Muslims, 96-7; among Indian tribes, 86-91; capture, 72, 74, 87, 88, 274; elopement, 72, 87, 90, 91; exchange, 87, 90; intrusion, 72, 74, 87, 91; mutual love, 74; probation, 87; purchase, 87, 88, 89; service, 87, 90-1; trial, 87, 88-9; regular and irregular, 72, 73, 74; rules of preference and prohibition, 80-3
Maternal, maternal-paternal, and paternal complexes, 107, 118
Matriarchy, 51, 143, 146
Matriliny, 117, 118, 119
Matrilineal, uterine-kin, 101
Medical research and anthropologists, 41
Men's house, 135-6
Mentifacts, 42, 273
Metals, 189, 199
Minorities, 252
Missionaries, Christian, their activities and influence upon Indian tribes, 9, 36, 136, 137, 139, 140, 166, 264, 270
Models, use of, by anthropologists, 12, 29
Moiety, 115, 121, 126
Money, 190, 191, 202
Monogamy, 20, 22, 48, 74-5, 76-7, 78
Monotheism, 155
Morung, 130, 131
Motherhood among the Garo, 145
Motherright, 64
Motiari, 132, 136
Motifs in art, 175, 176, 180, 182, 184, 186
Mubarak, 96
Multiple possessory rights, 194
Murals, 180
Music, 180, 185
Muslims of India, adoption of children among, 70; family among 69-70, 75-6; marriage among, 96-7; inheritance among, 76, 96; *purdah* among, 69; widow marriage among, 96
Myths, 122-3, 152, 167, 274

Nagebonga, 183
Narmada Valley cultures, 251
National character studies, 41-2
National Park Policy, 280
Naturism, 155, 156
Neolithic economy, 197
Neolithic Europe, 197
Neolithic Revolution, 189, 192
Nobel Prize, 170
Nudism, 22
Nudity, attitude to, 271-2

Occupation, as basis of association, 128
Oedipus Complex, 139, 164, 184
Officers, of dormitory, 129, 131, 132, 136
Officers, Cretan, 233
Oportipi, 74, 87
Oral literature, 180
Orenda, 156
Oteborom, 182

Paintings, 175, 176, 180, 185
Panchayats, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 241, 242, 246
Panigrahan, 95
Pasdau, 154
Pastoralism, 22-3, 189, 199
Pater, 117
Patrilineal kin, *see* Cognates
Patriliny, 118, 119
Pattern, 29
Penal feast, 214
Penda, 197
Phratry, 58, 115
Pir (parha), 249, 250
Plastic arts, 180

Ploughing, 203
Podu, 197
Poetry, 185
Political organisation, 151
Political philosophers, study of primitive society by, 35
Polyandry, 20, 77, 83, 84-5, 86, 251
Polygamy, 20, 84-5, 220
Polygyny, 77, 78, 84, 86
Population trends in tribal India, 269
Posi'othur, 87
Positivism, Comtean, 37
Pottery, 20, 186
Prakrit, 14
Prakriti, 14
Pratiloma, 85, 223
Pravura, 95
Pre-family condition, 112
Primitive mentality, 21
Primitive society, reasons for the study of, 6-9
Problems, human, in technological change in underdeveloped areas, 41
Prohibition, 273
Promiscuity, 20, 22, 76, 77, 116, 139, 140
Property, 22, 116, 117, 119, 120, 145, 146, 193-5, 215, 216, 217, 241
Proverbs, 185
Psychic unity of mankind, 19
Public opinion, 206

Race, cultural implications of, and anthropologists, 41, 42, 118, 226
Racial arrogance, 179
Racial discrimination, in South Africa, 45
Race mixture, 235
Raciology, comparative, 41
Rajikhushi, 74
Rangbang, 130
Range, of kinship, 100
Ranti, 92
Rank, 128, 220-2, 242
Rasik, 132
Reformation, 6, 36
Rehabilitation of Indian tribes, 263, 264, 265, 267, 270, 276, 281
Reliefs, 175
Religion, definition, 151; explanatory theories, 153-8; decline of, in tribal India, 272; growth of, from animistic polytheism to monotheism, 20-1; in tribal India, 164-8; magic, science and, 159-64
Reproduction, as basis of association, 128
Residence, 59, 66, 119, 120, 128, 166
Riddles, 185
Rigvedic Age, 232, 233
Rites de passage, 129
Rituals, 152, 161, 164, 241
Ritual impurity, 223, 225, 231, 239
Ritual performances, among Hindus, 13-4
Ritual purity, 163, 223, 224, 239
Ritual, Sanskritic, 272
Role, 141
Role-taking, 138
Rope-making, 202

Sagai, 72
Sahibosum, 186
Sanskar, 13, 14
Sanskrit, 13, 14
Sanskriti, 13, 14
Sapinda, 95
Saptapadi, 95
Savagery, 18, 20, 22
Scheduled castes and tribes, 276, 277, 278
Science, 161ff
Sculpture, 180, 185
Secret society, 129
Sept, 120, 124
Serfdom, 209
Serology and anthropologists, 41
Sex and society, 22, 75-6, 80-1, 90-2, 128, 129, 134, 139, 148, 149
Shaman, 221
Shias, 69
Silhouettes, 175, 185
Singbonga, 73, 165, 182, 183
Social engineering, 43, 45
Social evolution, 2
Social medicine, 44
Social organization, 32, 33, 151
Social organization among Hindus, 245; among Indian tribes, 245-51
Social psychology, 37
Social reformers, 140
Social structure, 14, 32, 33
Socifacts, 42, 273
Sodality, 128-9
Sorcery, fear of, the results of, 104, 159, 216
Sororate, 83, 109
Soul matter, 166, 239
Soul, reincarnation of, 166
Soul substance, 229, 234

Specialization in modern society, 171, 192, 202
Spinning and weaving, 199
Spinsterhood as result of hypergamy, 86
State of nature, 35
Statuettes, 175
Status, 141-2, 220, 221, 223, 229, 230, 242
Status of women, *see* Woman
Style, art-, 170, 172, 173, 174
Style of life, 30-1
Supernatural powers, 151, 152, 153, 157, 160, 161, 163, 166, 167, 221
Survivals, 28
Symbiosis, 266
Symbols, 14
Symbolism, 164
System of logic, Mill's, 37

Taboo, 147, 159, 162, 163-4, 213, 215, 229, 234, 239
Tabu, 163
Tattooing, 5, 180
Techniques of art, 179
Teknonymy, 105-6
Territory, 128, 206
Textiles, 174, 177, 180, 186
Theology, 158
Tools, prehistoric, 2, 34, 37, 42
Totalitarian societies, 68
Totem, 120, 121, 122, 163, 164
Totemic complex, 123
Totemic flags, 186
Totemism, 112, 114, 120, 122-6, 164, 166, 239
Totemite, 122
Traders, 190, 197
Transculturation, 281
Trappers, 189
Tribe, 114, 240-1, 242, 243-5
Tribes, agricultural, 145; hunting-nomadic, 133, 144; nomadic-herdsmen, 146; pastoral, 146
Tribes and Castes in India, series of volumes on, 46
Tribes of India, administration of, by British, 211, 274-80; cultural levels of, 262-7; cultural problems of, 270-4; economic grading of, 267-8; geographical location of, 252-4; linguistic affinities of, 254-6; present conditions and problems of, 268-74; prospects of, 280-2; racial affinities of, according to, Eickstedt, 258, Guha, 259 ff., Haddon, 258, Majumdar, 260 ff., Risley, 257; Republic Constitution and, 276-80
Tribal-urban continuum, 268

Unilateral groups, 100, 113
Unilinear groups, 126
United States Office of Indian Affairs, 40
Untouchability, 232, 238
Untouchables, 224, 230

Value-attitude systems and anthropological research, 41
Values, social, 164, 171, 254, 271
Varldau, 154
Varna, 95
Venus of Willendorf, 175
Vivaha, 95

Wakua, 156
War, Korean, 41
War, Second World, 40, 142, 276
Warfare, 211
Ways of acquiring mate, 86-91
Wergild, 209
Western Society, 62, 67, 69, 93-4, 100, 108
Widows and widowers in dormitory life, 129, 132
Widows, inheritance of, among the Naga, 79, 91, 118
Widow marriage, 67, 72, 93, 96
Witchcraft, 104, 159, 207, 214, 216
Woman, as collector of food, 189; as property, 88-9, 91; burden in a hunters' community, 81; low fertility of, in polyandrous society, 84-5; segregation of, during menstruation, 134; status of, in tribal society, 141-50; economic interpretation of status of, 145-6

Yatra, 38, 39
Yo, 130, 131
Youth house, 129, 130, 256

Zero, invention of, 20

INDEX OF TRIBAL AND CASTE NAMES, AND LOCATIONS

Aeta, 201
Africa, 6, 9, 36, 38, 114, 209, 211
Agaria, 189, 199
Ahir, 186, 230
Amazonian Indians, 26
America, 205
Americans, 139
American tribes, North, 6, 9, 30, 114, 117, 156, 210
Andaman Islands, 254, 283
Andaman Islanders (Pygmies), 65, 76, 79, 113, 117, 119, 142, 146, 149, 248-9
Apache, 30
Ashanti, 38
Asia, 6, 26, 36, 114
Asia, S. E., 190
Assam, 9, 84, 130, 136, 211, 241, 253, 258, 262, 268, 277, 281, 283
Assam tribes, 197, 199, 211
Australasia, 9, 211
Australian tribes, 26, 65, 114, 117, 123, 221, 240

Badaga, 201
Baiga, 77, 79, 80, 84, 89, 90, 105, 119, 189, 197, 198, 255, 256, 262, 267
Baluchistan, 258
Bantu, 117
Bastar, 135
Bengal, 147, 200, 225, 226, 241, 253, 257, 268, 283
Berber, 81
Bhil, 79, 81-2, 87, 88, 121, 189, 197, 198, 256, 263, 264, 269, 273
Bhotiya, 130, 190, 199
Bhuiya, 130, 183, 197, 198, 262, 268
Bhumij, 121, 183
Bihar, 200, 215, 225, 241, 253, 265, 268, 276, 277, 283
Birhor, 65, 76, 87, 90, 91, 119, 189, 196
Biyar, 195
Bombay, 253, 276, 282
Bondo, 115
Brahmin, 85-6, 147, 150, 183, 198, 222, 224, 226, 227, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 237, 244
Burma, 254
Chamar, 105, 230, 231
Chandala, 243
Chenchu, 65, 76, 119, 146, 189, 196, 228, 229, 256
Chero, 189
China, 68, 254
Chota Nagpur, 48, 78, 137, 166, 167, 217, 245, 255, 268
Cochin, 5, 230, 284
Coorgs, 53
Criminal Tribes, 230
Crow, 117

Dasa (Dasyu), 233, 257
Dobu, 30
Druids, Gallic, 233

East Punjab, 253
Egypt, 26, 156
Eskimo, 207

Far East, 36
France, 26, 177

Garo, 117, 144-45, 146, 251
Ghasi, 183, 199
Gond, Maria and Muria, 54, 62, 79, 80, 82, 84, 87, 89, 92, 93, 119, 121, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 148, 167-8, 185, 197, 198, 199, 250, 255, 264, 269
Greece, 233
Greeks, Asiatic, 258
Gujarat, 228, 260
Gurkha, 90

Hidatsa, 117
Hill Paharia, 274, 275
Himachal Pradesh, 253

Ho, 50-51, 66, 73-74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 84, 86, 87, 89, 90, 115, 120, 125, 130, 137, 148, 149, 150, 154, 156, 160, 166, 182, 183, 184, 185, 197, 200, 202-3, 217-9, 229, 241, 249-50, 268
Holiya, 232
Hopi, 105
Hottentot, 117
Huna, 258
Hyderabad, 228, 253, 284

Indonesia, 201, 262
Iran, 226, 227
Irula, 146, 199, 260, 261

Jaiswar, 231
Jamshedpur, 268
Jaunsar Bawar, 56
Juang, 124

Kadar, 5, 53, 65, 67, 68, 76, 79, 82, 84, 113, 117, 119, 138, 143, 146, 189, 196, 200-01, 249, 260, 261, 267
Kahar, 230
Kamar, 77, 113, 119, 121, 122, 123, 183, 189, 197, 212-4, 217, 267
Kammalan, 231
Kashmir, 84, 253
Kayastha, 230, 237
Kharia, 48-50, 56, 66, 71-3, 75, 82, 88, 93, 121, 122, 189, 196, 215-16, 217
Karwar, 195, 197, 244
Khasa, 56, 67, 68, 77, 84, 85, 90, 92, 94, 138, 148
Khasi, 51-2, 58, 65, 66, 68, 74-5, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 90, 92-3, 94, 107, 117, 118, 120, 126, 143-4, 145, 146, 147, 198, 250-51, 255
Khasi and Jaintia Hills, 280
Khattri, 230
Khond, 160, 197, 250, 255
Kolam, 255
Koli, 228
Kolta, 90, 200, 269
Korwa, 79, 80, 120, 165, 189, 197, 199, 264, 269
Kota, 84, 154
Kshattriya, 85, 86, 183, 222, 226, 230, 231, 232, 244
Kuki, 87, 93, 94, 109, 251
Kunikar, 130
Kurmi, 121, 230
Kurumba, 196
Kushan, 258
Kwakiutl, 30

Laddak, 84
Laddaki Bota, 84
Latin American countries, 40
Leh, 253
Lushai Clans, 83, 84, 92, 120
Lushai Hills, 253

Madhya Bharat, 253
Madhya Pradesh, 77, 82, 199, 200, 212, 225, 253, 277, 284
Madras, 224, 253, 276, 284
Majhwar, 197
Malakka, 201
Malapantaram, 65, 76, 146, 196, 267
Malaya, 9
Manbhum, 123
Mannan, 130
Maori, 190
Mapillai, 146
Masai, 117
Mayurbhanj, 121
Melanesia, 194
Melanesians, 252
Menon, 146
Mexico, 40
Mirzapur, 195, 244
Mishmi tract, 253
Morocco, 81
Munda, 54, 79, 115, 121, 130, 138, 165, 166, 198, 232, 245, 250, 253, 254, 255, 262, 268, 282
Muthuvam, 130
Mysore, 253

Nagas, 54, 62, 68, 80, 84, 87, 88, 89, 91, 108, 109, 115, 120, 124, 125, 130, 131, 137, 139, 149, 167, 186, 194, 195, 197, 198, 211, 216-7, 220, 229, 232, 253, 254, 255, 263, 280, 281
Nagaland, 253
Nambudri Brahmins, 230
Navaho, 117
Nayar, 56, 57, 68, 84, 230, 237
Negroes, 6
Nepal, 90
New Mexico, 30
New Zealand, 190, 194
Nicobar Islands, 254

Ojha, 250
Oraons, 38, 39, 54, 66, 80, 82, 94, 105, 109, 115, 121, 125, 130, 131, 132, 134, 197, 245, 254, 255, 282
Orissa, 199, 215, 253, 276, 277, 283

Pahalava, 258
Pakhtoons, 253
Pakistan, 252, 253, 254
Paliyan, 76, 130, 146, 196, 267
Paniyan, 65, 146, 196, 260, 261, 267
Pardhan, 196, 201, 250
Pariahs, 224, 231
Pasi, 230
Philippines, 201, 205
Pillai, 146
Polynesians, 262
Polia, 244
Pueblos, 30, 179
Punjab, 257

Rajasthan, 253
Rajbanshis, 229, 244
Rajputs, 242, 243, 244
Rawaltas, 160
Reddis, 119, 197, 267
Red Indians, 39
Rome, 233

Saha, 225
Saka, 258
Samoans, 258
Santhals, 82, 84, 120, 121, 197, 198, 199, 200, 225, 241, 255, 268, 275
Santhal Pargana, 225
Saora, 199
Semang, 201
Senoi, 201
Shan, 258
Sikkim, 253
Simla, 253
Singbhum, 123
Spain, 179
Sudra, 85, 183, 222, 229, 231, 232, 233, 237, 243

Teli, 225, 231
Tharu, 92, 148, 199
Tibet, 190, 221, 254
Tiyan, 84, 146
Toda, 58, 65, 68, 77, 83, 84, 98, 107, 115, 117, 121, 123, 142, 146, 147, 154, 189, 193, 199, 201-2, 228, 248, 251, 262, 269
Toda moieties, Teivaliol and Tartharol, 58, 81, 115, 121, 228, 251
Travancore-Cochin, 254
Tribes, Assam, 78, 84, 88, 89, 268
Tribes, African, 99
Tribes, Chota Nagpur, 89, 160, 253
Tribes, Indian, 62, 77, 78, 79, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 113, 120, 129, 137, 138, 140, 149, 181, 189, 195-203, 196, 197, 198, 210, 233, 240, 252-82
Tribes, Middle Indian, 57, 62, 68, 76, 79, 87, 88, 91, 94, 121, 124, 135, 136, 149, 167, 186, 200, 211, 242, 260, 265, 268
Tribes, Mongoloid, 84, 119, 124
Tribes, Pre-Dravidian, 87
Tribes, Proto-Australoid, 119, 124
Tribes, South-Indian, 150, 211
Trobriand Islanders, 98, 102, 105, 106, 130, 157, 162, 210

Uganda, 208
U. P., 130, 190, 200, 230, 231, 244, 253, 284
U.S.A., 39

Vaish, 85, 183, 222, 230, 231, 232
Vedda, 102, 258

West Africa, 194

Yanadi, 196, 256

INDEX OF AUTHOR AND OTHER PROPER NAMES, AND BOOK, PAMPHLET AND JOURNAL TITLES

Aboriginals, The (Elwin), 282
Aborigines—So-called—and Their Future, The (Ghurye), 168, 282
Adam, L, 186
Affairs of a Tribe, The (Majumdar), 282
Africa, 44
African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, The (Radcliffe-Brown et. al.), 111
Aiyappan, A., 261, 284
Ancient Law (Maine), 219
Ancient Society (Morgan), 70
Andaman Islanders, The (Radcliffe-Brown), 283
Angami Naga, The (Hutton), 283
Ankerman, 23
Anthropology (Goldenweiser), 126
Anthropology (Kant), 1
Anthropologie Abstracted (anon), 1
Anthropology and Modern Life (Boas), 42, 46
Anthropology and Modern Life (Nadel), 47
Anthropology in Action (Brown and Hutt), 46
Anthropology Today (Kroeber, ed.), 12, 47
Ao Naga, The (Mills), 284
Applied Anthropology, 37
Apte, 232, 233
Archer, W. G., 186
Aristotle, 1
Arnold, M., 13
Art and Society (Read), 187

Bacon, F., 37
Baiga, The (Elwin), 284
Bateson, G., 16
Beals, R., 27
Benedict, R., 12, 14-15, 29-30, 33, 41, 179, 186
Bergson, 17
Bhil, The (Naik), 283
Bidney, D., 10, 13, 14, 33
Birhors, The (Roy), 283
Blue Grove, The (Archer), 186
Boas, F., 24, 27, 42, 46, 123, 168, 187
Bonnerjee, 233
Bouquet, A. C., 151, 168
Briffault, R., 64-5
Brinton, 227
Brown, G., 46
Bunzel, R., 187
Burkitt, M. C., 175
Buxton, D., 227, 229
Byron, 171

Carlyle, T., 18
Cassirer, E., 13
Caste and Class in India (Ghurye), 239
Caste in India (Hutton), 168, 239
Chapple, 105, 106, 227
Chatterji, A., 283
Chatterji, S. K., 261, 262
Chenchus, The, (Furer-Haimendorf), 284
Childe, V. G., 190
Cleveland, A., 274
Colliers, J., 40
Comparative Religion (Bouquet), 168
Comte, A., 9, 37
Confucius, 68
Coon, 105, 106, 227
Counts, 138
Crime and Custom in Savage Society (Malinowski), 219
Crooke, W., 257
Culshaw, W. J., 283
Culture: A Review (Kroeber and Kluckhohn), 34

Darwin, C., 7, 19, 37, 38, 62
Das, T. C., 246, 251, 283
Dewey, J., 10 43
Diamond, A. S., 219
Dionysius, 30
Dube, S. C., 213, 214, 265, 284
Durkheim, E., 31-2, 123, 153, 158
Dutt, N. K., 228

Economic Anthropology (Herskovits), 203
Economics in Primitive Communities (Thurnwald), 203
Ehrenfels, U. R., 146, 190, 284
Eickstedt, Egon von, 258, 259
Elements of Social Organization (Firth), 187
Elliot Smith, 25
Elwin, V., 105, 124, 132, 133, 134, 137, 165, 166, 167, 187, 263, 264, 265, 280, 282, 283, 284
Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 6, 7, 10, 12, 34, 44, 46, 187

Fast, H., 39
Firth, R., 8, 32, 43, 44, 46, 179, 187, 190
Forde, D., 190, 203, 230
Fortes, M., 10
Fortunes of Primitive Tribes (Majumdar), 284
Foundations of Social Anthropology, The (Nadel), 33
Frazer, J. G., 102, 123, 125, 159, 161
Freud, S., 102, 164
Function and Structure in Primitive Society (Radcliffe-Brown), 168
Furer-Haimendorf, C. von., 136, 167, 228, 256, 258, 259, 283, 284
Furer-Haimendorf, Elizabeth von, 284

Gandhiji, 18
Garo, The (Playfair), 283
General Anthropology (Boas), 168, 187
Ghurye, G. S., 166, 168, 228, 233, 239, 280, 281, 282
Gillin, 15, 227
Gita, The, 223
Goldenweiser, A. A., 122, 123, 124, 126, 210
Golden Stool, The (Smith), 47
Gondwana and the Gonds, The (Inderjit Singh), 284
Gordon, 177
Graebner, 23, 24
Grigson, W. V., 82, 134, 148, 284
Grosse, 190
Guha, B. S., 259, 260, 261
Gurdon, P. R. T., 120, 126, 283

Habitat, Economy and Society (Forde), 203
Haddon, A. C., 2, 12, 21, 173, 174, 258
Hemingway, E., 170
Heine-Geldern, 255
Herder, J. G., 285, 287
Herskovits, M. J., 2, 12, 27, 34, 46, 168, 187, 190, 203, 267
Hildebrand, 190
Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa, The (Roy), 283
Hindu Social Organization (Prabhu), 70, 97
History of Anthropology (Haddon), 12
History of Ethnological Theory, The (Lowie), 34
Hivale, S. R., 284
Hobhouse, 145, 146
Hodson, T. C., 133, 251
Hoebel, 204
Homans, 83
Honnigman, J. J., 135
Hopkins, 123
Hos of Seraikella, The (Chatterjee and Das), 283
Hume, D., 37
Human Problems (Spicer, ed.), 47
Human Types (Firth), 46
Hundred Years of Anthropology, A (Penniman), 12
Hutt, B., 46
Hutton, J. H., 26, 125, 165, 166, 168, 229, 232, 233, 239, 254, 256, 259, 260, 262, 264, 280, 283

Indian Journal of Social Work, The, 251
Indigenous Peoples (I. L. O.), 203
Institutions of Primitive Society, The (Evans-Pritchard et. al.), 187
Imperial Gazetteer, The, 241

Jacobs, M., 187
Jung, C. G., 152

Kadar, The (Ehrenfels), 284
Kant, E., 1
Kamar, The (Dube), 284
Karsten, R., 108

Karve, I., 184
Kharias, The (Roy and Roy), 283
Khasis, The (Gurdon), 283
Kinsey, A., 139
Kluckhohn, C., 1, 6, 7, 15, 16, 34, 40, 42, 44, 47
Kroeber, A. L., 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 34, 46, 110, 173, 228

L'Anthropologie (Topinard), 2
Lang, A., 123
Lao Tse, 68
Last Frontier, The (Fast), 39
Leach, E., 180, 187
Levy Bruhl, 21
Lhota Naga, The (Mills), 283
Linton, R., 15, 17, 27, 47, 70, 97
List, 190
Llewellyn, 204
Locke, J., 37
Lowie, R., 34, 70, 77, 88, 89, 91, 97, 103, 111, 114, 115, 118, 119, 126, 128, 129, 138, 139, 140, 141, 146, 147, 150, 168, 194, 203, 204, 205, 219, 239
Lushei-Kuki Clans, The (Shakespeare), 283

Magic, Science, and Religion (Malinowski), 168
MacIver, R. M., 13, 18, 70, 227, 239
Maine, H., 210, 219
Majumdar, D. N., 12, 47, 150, 283, 284
Malinowski, B., 10, 12, 14, 15, 28-9, 30, 34, 42, 43, 77, 81, 107, 117, 130, 153, 157, 158, 162, 168, 209, 219
Man, 119, 248, 249
Man, 184
Man and His Works (Herskovits), 2, 12, 34, 46, 168, 187, 203
Manu, 85, 95, 198, 223
Marett, R. R., 14, 155, 156, 220
Maria Gonds of Bastar, The (Grigson), 284
Matrix of Indian Culture, The (Majumdar), 12, 282
Mead, M., 138, 139
Mendel, G., 23
Mill, J. S., 37
Miller, F., 225
Mills, J. P., 136, 137, 139, 167, 216, 283
Mirror for Man, The (Kluckhohn), 46
Mitra, 17
Montague, A., 193
Morgan, L. H., 18, 19, 20, 31, 32, 63-4, 65, 70, 76, 108, 109, 110, 115, 116, 117, 118, 210, 220, 286, 287
Muller, Max, 155, 156
Mukhtyar, G. C., 228
Mundas and Their Country, The (Roy), 283
Murdock, G. P., 70, 77, 84, 111, 114, 124, 126
Muria and Their Ghotul, The (Elwin), 284
Murray, G., 269

Nadel, S. F., 10, 33, 42, 44, 45, 47
Naik, T. B., 283
Naked Nagas, The (Furer-Haimendorf), 283
Nayadis, The (Aiyappan), 284
Nehru, J., 181
Nesfield, 236

Opler, M., 30, 113
Oraons of Chota Nagpur, The (Roy), 283
Origin of Species, The (Darwin), 7, 38

Pant, S. D., 284
Pardhans, The (Hivale), 284
Patterns of Culture (Benedict), 33, 179
Penniman, T. K., 12
Perry, W. J., 25, 240
Playfair, A., 283
Portman, 120
Prabhu, P. N., 70, 97
Preuss, 155
Primitive Art (Adam), 186
Primitive Culture (Tylor), 34, 168
Primitive Cultures of India (Hodson), 251
Primitive Religion (Lowie), 168
Primitive Society (Lowie), 70, 97, 111, 126, 140, 150, 239
Purusha Sukta, 226, 232

Quatrefages, 281

Races and Cultures of India, The (Majumdar), 47, 251
Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 10, 12, 15, 28-29, 30, 32, 104, 105, 110-11, 114, 119, 120, 157, 158, 164, 168, 240, 248, 283
Raglan, 107
Rama, 68
Ramayana, 68
Rattray, 38
Ratzel, 287
Read, H., 170, 176, 179, 187
Reddis of Bison Hills, The (Furer-Haimendorf), 284
Redfield, R., 5, 12, 14, 27, 30-1, 205
Religion of an Indian Tribe, The (Elwin), 283
Rengma Naga, The (Mills), 283
Richards, A. I., 81
Rigveda, The, 226, 232, 233
Risley, H. H., 81, 227, 229, 243, 257, 258
Rivers, W. H. R., 108, 109, 114, 115, 120, 228, 240, 284, 287
Rousseau, 7, 286
Roy, R. C., 283
Roy, S. C., 39, 105, 121, 125, 134, 167, 228, 233, 234, 264, 283

Sarkar, S. S., 258, 261
Save, K. J., 284
Schmidt, P., 23, 255
Schurtz, 128, 129
Science of Man in World Crisis, The (Linton, ed.), 47
Scientific Theory of Culture, The (Malinowski), 34
Senart, 233
Shakespeare, J., 120, 133, 283
Short History of Human Marriage, A (Westermarck), 97
Shrikant, L. M., 278
Singh, Inderjit, 132, 134, 135, 284
Sita, 68
Smith, E. W., 25, 47
Social Anthropology (Evans-Pritchard), 12, 34, 46
Social Economy of the Himalayas (Pant), 284
Social Organization (Lowie), 97, 140, 203
Social Structure (Murdock), 70, 111, 126
Society (MacIver and Page), 70, 239
Sophocles, 184
Sorokin, P., 13
Spencer, H., 7, 19, 23, 37, 62
Spicer, E. H., 47
Status of Women in South Asia, The (Appadorai, ed.), 150
Stern, B. J., 187
Stolpe, 173
Study of Man, The (Linton), 70, 97
Swanton, 123

Theoretical Anthropology (Bidney), 33
Thomas, N. W., 26
Thomas, W. J., 227
Thorner, D. and A., 229
Threshold of Religion, The (Marett), 168
Thurnwald, 189, 190, 192, 203, 267
Toynbee, A T., 17
Tozzer, 227
Transformations of the Primitive World (Redfield), 205
Tribal Art of Middle India (Elwin), 187
Tribal Myths of Orissa (Elwin), 187
Trilling, L., 31
Turney-High, 103
Tylor, E. B., 14, 15, 16, 19, 20-21, 25, 31, 101-2, 105, 117-8, 123, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 168, 286, 287

Vertical Man, The (Archer), 186
Vidyasagar, I., 69

Warlis, The (Save), 284
Weale, 226
Weber, Max, 227, 242
Westermann, 43
Westermarck, 64, 81, 84, 97
White, L., 17
Wissler, C., 24-25, 27
Wundt, 163

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago, former President of the American Anthropological Association, in the *American Anthropologist:*

"Throughout the authors assemble in concise summaries alternating or competing theory and viewpoint. No one theoretical position is assumed. With regard to anthropology as theory, the Indian student receives here a syllabus, an inventory, a *vade mecum*. . . .

". . . the facts, the illustrative materials of this textbook, are drawn preponderantly from India. For these facts, which are not well known to many of us, we Westerners will read this book. There is an interesting defense of men's dormitories in tribal societies, and a suggestive revision of an old proposal of Elwin's that here emerges as a three-fold grouping of Indian tribes according to their distance from peoples who are urban or rural. The ethnography of India is, then, not merely reported; it becomes a basis for argument and intellectual organisation. While Western theory seems rather dry and infertile in its capsules here, the ideas that emerge from struggle with the Indian materials have an admirable freshness and fertility."

A. Aiyappan, in *The Hindu:*

"The need for textbooks written specially for Indian students of Anthropology has been there for some time past. The book under review is therefore most welcome and timely. It covers a very wide field and is generally very clear and up-to-date in most topics. This book would help both the university student and the intelligent layman to understand the 'wondrous creature that is Man' through the science of anthropology which is compared to 'a mirror into which man, without any labels of primitive or civilized, may look to understand and appreciate his own unbounded physical and cultural variety.'"

A. R. Wadia, Director, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay:

"While teaching Sociology and Anthropology, we mostly are depending on American books. This book will go far to remove the impression that there is no textbook on Cultural Anthropology written by an Indian scholar, giving illustrations from the life of Indian tribal peoples."

ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
Bombay · Calcutta · New Delhi · Madras